This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
LIBRARIES

LETTERS

OF

ROYAL AND ILLUSTRIOUS LADIES

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY
TO THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

Edited,

CHIEFLY FROM THE ORIGINALS IN THE STATE PAPER OFFICE,
THE TOWER OF LONDON, THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
AND OTHER STATE ARCHIVES,

BY

MARY ANNE EVERETT WOOD.

ILLUSTRATED WITH FAC-SIMILE AUTOGRAPHS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1846.

DA 28.7
G8
v.1

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GEORGE BARCLAY, CASTLE STREET,
LEICESTER SQUARE.

TO

SIR THOMAS PHILLIPS, BART.

OF MIDDLEHILL, WORCESTERSHIRE,

THIS WORK,

ORIGINALLY UNDERTAKEN AT HIS SUGGESTION,

Is Respectfully Dedicated,

IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF LITERARY OBLIGATIONS RECEIVED DURING A VISIT AT MIDDLEHILL,

BY HIS OBLIGED AND GRATEFUL

MARY ANNE EVERETT WOOD.

PREFACE.

It is a trite saying, that a woman is to be judged by her letters. If this adage be true, the present volumes, unfolding a series of these records, extending over a period of four centuries and a-half, will not be deemed an unwelcome addition to an interesting class of literature.

The selection of the letters contained in the present volumes has been attended with some difficulty, owing to the comparative paucity of examples previously to the commencement of the 16th century, and their multiplicity subsequently to that period. Of those which have been inserted, a few of the

earlier ones, perhaps, may be considered to possess scarcely sufficient interest to entitle them to a place in these pages; but, in forming a continuous series of female epistolary correspondence, their insertion seemed necessary.

In the introductory remarks which have been prefixed to the letters, the Editor has endeavoured to render the subject more intelligible to the reader. They are seldom extended beyond a brief notice, except where the information has been drawn from documents hitherto inedited.

No liberty whatever has been taken with any of the letters, except in translating those in foreign languages into English, and modernising the ancient orthography. Had this not been done, many highly interesting letters in Latin, Italian, Spanish, Norman French, Scotch, and antiquated English, would have remained incomprehensible to the general reader. But it should be observed that the original phraseology has in every instance been retained, and the strictest attention paid to fidelity in the transcripts and to correctness in the translations. Not a word has been pur-

posely omitted, inserted, or altered, and, where a supplemental word was necessary to make up the sense, it has been placed within a parenthesis. In those instances where the originals had sustained injury from fire, damp, or other casualty, the words supposed to have been effaced have occasionally been conjecturally supplied within brackets. A chronological arrangement of the letters has been observed, as far as practicable, and considerable pains have been taken with dates, some of which have been frequently supplied from various minute points of internal evidence in the letters, and from their bearing upon other documents which it would have been tedious always to detail. Whenever any uncertainty existed, the letters have been assigned to the most probable date and *vers.* prefixed to the year.

The sources from which the letters have been obtained are various. The earliest originals are from the valuable collection in the Tower of London, and from the Office of the Duchy of Lancaster; those of a later period from the State Paper Office, the British Museum, the College of Arms, the Rolls-

House, the Chapter-House, the Bodleian and Ashmolean Libraries, Oxford, the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, and Archives du Royaume, Paris, and also from several private collections. Comparatively few of the letters have been before published, and those which have been printed have appeared only in works which are scarce, or beyond ordinary reach. In a *few* instances, letters are given from printed books, but only in those cases where the original authorities are wanting; such are the first six letters of the collection, which are of a period earlier than any original letters known to be in existence; also, a few translations from the Italian of Pollini and Leti, and reprints of a few English letters from the Howard Collection—a volume scarce and little known. In these instances the superior interest of the letters induced a departure from the general rule.

The work was originally intended to have been brought down to the time of the Commonwealth, or at least to the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and an extensive collection was made for the purpose; but it was found impracticable to include a more lengthened period,

without omitting much of an earlier date that seemed equally worthy of insertion, and, from its superior antiquity, possessed even a higher claim to interest. The publication of later letters has, therefore, been deferred, at least for the present.

The Editor has now the pleasing task of acknowledging her obligations to those distinguished and literary gentlemen who have honoured her with their assistance. To His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury she is indebted for permission of access to the Lambeth Library, and to the Rev. S. R. Maitland, keeper of the MSS., for the friendly manner in which that permission has been rendered available; to the Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen and Viscount Canning for their courteous, though hitherto unsuccessful, efforts to obtain from the Spanish Government transcripts of the letters of Queen Catherine of Aragon, deposited in the Archives of Simancas; and to Sir James Graham, Home-Secretary of State, for admission to the invaluable treasures of the State Paper Office. To Sir Francis Palgrave, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, T. Duffus Hardy, Esq., of the

Tower (to whom she is under peculiar and extensive literary obligations), W. H. Black, Esq., of the Rolls-House, and Frederick Devon, Esq., of the Chapter-House, she begs to present her acknowledgments for polite attentions received in consulting the documents under their several charges. To William Hardy, Esq., of the Office of the Duchy of Lancaster, she is indebted for liberal access to the Archives of that office; also to Sir Charles G. Young, garter king-at-arms, for similar access to the MSS. of the Heralds' College, and for much valuable aid in solving genealogical difficulties. To the Rev. Dr. Bandinel, Keeper of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, her best thanks are due for his permission to consult the MSS. under his care; and to the Rev. Henry Coxe and Alfred Hackman, Esq., Assistant-Librarians, for facilities afforded her in so doing. To Dawson Turner, Esq. F.A.S., to the late William Upcott, Esq., and Robert Lemon, Esq., Deputy-Keeper of the State Papers, she is obliged for their kind permission to print letters from their private collections; also to the last-named gentleman for much friendly assistance re-

ceived when studying in the State Paper Office. Nor are her obligations confined to her own countrymen. To Canon Miguel del Riego, the enthusiastic reviver of the ancient poetry of Spain, she is indebted for his supervision of her translations of several of the Spanish letters of Catherine of Aragon. To M. Paulin Paris, principal Librarian, and M. Auguste Vallet de Viriville, one of the Sub-Librarians of the Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris, for their polite attentions during her researches there; and also to M. Alexandre Teulet, for similar attentions at the Archives du Royaume, Hôtel Soubise.

In conclusion, the Editor would beg to offer an apology for the seeming, perhaps real, presumption with which she has ventured upon a field usually occupied only by the learned of the other sex. Inspired by an ardent love for antiquarian literature, and encouraged by the wishes of her friends, she has undertaken her present task, not from any unwarranted conceit of superior talent, but simply because she felt convinced that it was one in which the energy and industry which any one who has time at command may bring

to bear upon a given subject were the greatest essentials to success. Of the truth or fallacy of her opinion the public must now be the judges.

SHRUBBERY HOUSE,
COTTINGHAM, NEAR HULL,
Nov. 20*th*, 1845.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

No.		A.D.	Page
I.	Matilda of Scotland, queen of Henry I., to Anselm archbishop of Canterbury . . *vers.*	1103..	1
II.	The same to pope Paschal II. . . *vers.*	1103..	4
III.	Adela countess of Blois, youngest daughter of William the Conqueror, to Theobald earl of Blois, her son	1130..	7
IV.	The empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I., to Thomas à Becket archbishop of Canterbury	1165..	9
V.	Mary, daughter of king Stephen, countess of Bologne, to Louis VII. king of France .	1168..	11
VI.	Eleanora queen of England, widow of Henry II., to pope Celestine	1192..	13
VII.	Eleanora of Bretagne, grand-daughter of Henry II. and sister to prince Arthur, to her subjects in Bretagne	1208..	24
VIII.	Isabella queen-dowager of England, countess of March and Angoulême, to her son, Henry III.	1220..	28
IX.	Queen Berengaria, widow of Richard Cœur de Lion, to Peter bishop of Winchester . .	1220..	30
X.	The same to Henry III.	1225..	33
XI.	The Nuns of St. Mary's of Chester to Eleanora, queen of Henry III.	1253..	34
XII.	Eleanora queen-regent of England, and Richard earl of Cornwall, to Henry III. . . .	1254..	36
XIII.	Matilda prioress of the convent of Barking to Henry III.	1258..	39
XIV.	Lady Havisia de Neville to her son, Hugh de Neville . . . . . *vers.*	1258..	42
XV.	Eleanora queen of Edward I., to Robert Burnell, lord chancellor		46
XVI.	Constance widow of Henry of Germany, the nephew of Henry III., to Edward I. . *vers.*	1279..	47

No.		A.D.	Page
XVII.	Eleanora queen-dowager of England to her son, Edward I. . . . . *vers.*	1279..	50
XVIII.	Eleanora princess of Wales to her cousin, king Edward I. . . . . *vers.*	1279..	51
XIX.	The same to the same	1280..	55
XX.	Eleanora queen-dowager of England to her son, Edward I.		58
XXI.	The same to the same		59
XXII.	Mary daughter of Edward I., a nun at Amesbury, to her brother, Edward II. . *vers.*	1316..	60
XXIII.	Isabella queen-dowager of England to her nephew, the earl of Hereford . *vers.*	1328..	63
XXIV.	Philippa of Hainault, queen of Edward III., to sir John de Edington, her attorney .	1354..	65
XXV.	Constance, wife of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, to the chancellor of England .		66
XXVI.	Annabella queen of Scotland to king Richard II.	1394..	67
XXVII.	Joanna of Navarre, afterwards queen of Henry IV., to Richard II. . . . . *vers.*	1399..	70
XXVIII.	Joanna duchess of Bretagne, afterwards queen of England, to her future husband Henry IV.	1400..	72
XXIX.	The Prioress of Rowney to king Henry IV.	1400..	73
XXX.	Christine Dunbar countess of March to Henry IV.	1403..	75
XXXI.	Philippa queen of Portugal to her brother, Henry IV.	1405..	78
XXXII.	Joanna countess of Westmoreland to her brother, Henry IV.	1406..	82
XXXIII.	Catherine daughter of John of Gaunt, queen of Castile and Leon, to her brother Henry IV.	1412..	85
XXXIV.	Joanna de Kynnesley to king Henry IV. .		88
XXXV.	Queen Joanna, widow of Henry IV., to her son, John duke of Bedford . . .	1415..	89
XXXVI.	Constance lady Husee to king Henry VI. .	1441..	92
XXXVII.	Elizabeth countess of Oxford to sir John Paston		94
XXXVIII.	Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry VI., to the citizens of London	1461..	95
XXXIX.	Anne countess of Warwick to the House of Commons	1471.	100

No.		A.D.	Page
XL.	Cecilia duchess of York, mother of king Edward IV., to the mayor of Windsor .		105
XLI.	The same to dean William Wolflete . .		106
XLII.	Joanna Conway to Cecilia duchess of York .		107
XLIII.	Elizabeth sister of king Edward IV. to John Paston		109
XLIV.	Elizabeth Woodville, queen of Edward IV., to sir William Stoner		110
XLV.	Margaret countess of Oxford to John Paston	1486..	112
XLVI.	Elizabeth of York, queen of Henry VII., to queen Isabella of Castile	1497..	114
XLVII.	Margaret Beaufort countess of Richmond, mother of king Henry VII., to Richard Shirley . . . . . *vers.*	1501..	116
XLVIII.	The same to her son, Henry VII. . .	1501..	118
XLIX.	Catherine of Aragon, as princess of Wales, to her father Ferdinand II.	1505..	120
L.	The same to the same	1505..	128
LI.	The same to the same . . . . *vers.*	1505..	129
LII.	The same to the same	1505..	130
LIII.	The same to the same	1506..	135
LIV.	The same to the queen of Castile . .	1506..	141
LV.	The same to her father Ferdinand II. . .	1506..	142
LVI.	The same to the same	1507..	143
LVII.	The same to the same	1507..	148
LVIII.	Catherine of Aragon, queen of Henry VIII., to her father Ferdinand II. . . .	1509..	157
LIX.	The same to the same		162
LX.	The same to Mr. Almoner Wolsey . .	1513..	163
LXI.	Margaret queen of Scotland to her brother, king Henry VIII.	1514..	165
LXII.	Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., to her future husband, Louis XII. of France . .	1514..	169
LXIII.	The same to the same	1514..	172
LXIV.	Mary queen of France to her brother, Henry VIII.	1514..	173
LXV.	The same to the same	1514..	176
LXVI.	The same to Nicholas de Cerisay . .	1514..	177
LXVII.	The same to archbishop Wolsey . .	1514..	180
LXVIII.	The same to her brother, king Henry VIII.	1514..	181

No.		A.D.	Page
LXIX.	Mary queen of France to her brother, king Henry VIII.	1514..	182
LXX.	Mary queen-dowager of France to her brother, Henry VIII.	1515..	183
LXXI.	The same to the same	1515..	187
LXXII.	The same to the same	1515..	189
LXXIII.	The same to archbishop Wolsey . .	1515..	193
LXXIV.	The same to the same	1515..	195
LXXV.	The same to her brother, king Henry VIII.	1515..	199
LXXVI.	The same to Wolsey	1515..	202
LXXVII.	The same to her brother, king Henry VIII.	1515..	203
LXXVIII.	Queen Catherine of Aragon to the sub-prior of Anglesea.	1515..	207
LXXIX.	Margaret queen of Scotland to Henry VIII.	1515..	208
LXXX.	The same to Adam Williamson . .	1515..	210
LXXXI.	The same to Henry VIII. . . .	1515..	211
LXXXII.	The same to lord Dacres . . .	1515..	214
LXXXIII.	The same to the duke of Albany . .	1515..	216
LXXXIV.	The same to cardinal Wolsey . .	1516..	219
LXXXV.	The same to the same	1517..	221
LXXXVI.	The same to Henry VIII. . . .	1517..	222
LXXXVII.	The same to cardinal Wolsey . . .	1517..	226
LXXXVIII.	The same to Henry VIII. . . .	1518..	227
LXXXIX.	The same to queen Catherine of Aragon, *vers.*	1519..	231
XC.	The same to lord Dacres	1519..	232
XCI.	The same to the same	1520..	236
XCII.	Catherine of Aragon, queen of Henry VIII. to Claude of France, queen of Francis I. *vers.*	1521..	238
XCIII.	Mary queen-dowager of France to cardinal Wolsey		240
XCIV.	The same to the same		242
XCV.	The same to the same		244
XCVI.	Queen Margaret to lord Dacres . .	1522..	245
XCVII.	The same to cardinal Wolsey . . .	1522..	252
XCVIII.	The same to the earl of Surrey . .		256
XCIX.	The same to the same	1523..	258
C.	Queen Catherine of Aragon to cardinal Wolsey		260

No.		A.D.	Page
CI.	Elizabeth countess of Kildare to cardinal Wolsey	1523..	261
CII.	Queen Margaret to the earl of Surrey	1523..	264
CIII.	The same to king Henry VIII.	1523..	270
CIV.	The same to the earl of Surrey	1523..	275
CV.	The same to the same	1523..	277
CVI.	The same to the same	1523..	280
CVII.	The same to the same	1523..	282
CVIII.	The same to the same	1523..	288
CIX.	The same to the duke of Albany	1523..	291
CX.	The same to the earl of Surrey	1523..	293
CXI.	The same to the duke of Albany	1523..	296
CXII.	The same to the earl of Surrey	1523..	298
CXIII.	Margaret countess of Salisbury to the king and council		306
CXIV.	The same to lady Rede		309
CXV.	Anne lady Rede to Mr. Henry Golde		310
CXVI.	Mary Zouch to sir John Arundel		312
CXVII.	Margaret queen of Scotland to lord Dacres	1524..	314
CXVIII.	The same to the same	1524..	319
CXIX.	The same to king Henry VIII.	1524..	322
CXX.	Anne countess of Oxford to cardinal Wolsey *vers.*	1524..	329
CXXI.	The same to the same *vers.*	1524..	332
CXXII.	The same to the same *vers.*	1524..	334
CXXIII.	Elizabeth duchess of Norfolk to cardinal Wolsey. *vers.*	1524..	336
CXXIV.	Margaret queen of Scotland to the duke of Norfolk	1524..	338
CXXV.	The same to the same.	1524..	341
CXXVI.	The same to the same	1524..	345
CXXVII.	The same to the same	1524..	349
CXXVIII.	The same to king Henry VIII.	1524..	352
CXXIX.	The same to cardinal Wolsey	1524..	356
CXXX.	The same to the Scottish lords	1525..	361
CXXXI.	The same to Henry VIII.	1525..	363
CXXXII.	The same to Dr. Magnus	1525..	368

FAC-SIMILES IN VOL. I.

No. 1. Berengaria of Navarre, queen of England.[a]

,, 2. Philippa queen of Portugal.
Vostre entiere et loyal suer P. de P.

,, 3. Joanna countess of Westmoreland.
Voster tres humble et obaisant suget, si vous plest, J. de W.

,, 4. Catherine queen of Castile.
Yo la reyna.

,, 5. Joanna of Navarre, queen of England.
Jehane.

,, 6. Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister of Edward VI.
Elizabeth.

,, 7. Elizabeth Woodville, queen of England.
Elysabeth.

[a] The letter read *in extenso*, that is, with the contractions lengthened out, is as follows:—

"Venerabili in Christo patri suo et amico præcordialissimo P. dei gratia Wintoniensis episcopo. B. eadem gratia humilis quondam Angliæ Regina salutem. Dilectum nostrum latorem presentium fratrem Gauterum Cisterciensis ordinis ad vos mittimus, cum omni humilitate quâ possumus, rogando humiliter ac devote ut, tam de hoc instanti festo omnium sanctorum quam de aliis terminis jam transactis, nobis satisfieri faciatis de pecuniâ nobis debitâ pro compositione nostri dotalitii, quam, vobis mediante, fecimus cum J. bonæ memoriæ quondam rege Angliæ fratre nostro. Valete."

No. 8. Margaret countess of Oxford.
Margaret Oxynford.

,, 9. Elizabeth of York, queen of England.
Elysabeth R.

,, 10. Margaret countess of Richmond.
Margaret R.

,, 11. Catherine of Aragon, as princess of Wales.
Humyl servydora de vuestra alteza que manos besa la princesa de Gales.

,, 12. Catherine of Aragon, as queen of England.
La Reyna.

,, 13. Mary Tudor, queen of France.
By yowr lowyng suster Mary.

,, 14. Margaret countess of Salisbury.
Marget Salisbery.

LETTERS

OF

ROYAL AND ILLUSTRIOUS LADIES.

LETTER I.

Matilda of Scotland, Queen of Henry I., to Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury. A.D. vers. 1103.

[SANCTI ANSELMI EPISTOLÆ, LIBER III. EPIST. XCVI. *Latin.*]

*** The religious bent of character of Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I., has been too often and largely dwelt on to need mention here. This feeling prompted her to an earnest reverence for the Church and the clergy, and, in particular, to a warm attachment for Archbishop Anselm, the primate of the realm. The disputes between this prelate and her royal husband were, to Matilda, cause of the most poignant regret. In these disputes, she decidedly took the part of the archbishop against the king. Still she seems to have acted judiciously, and with a due regard to her obligations as a wife. Her correspondence with Anselm was carried on, for the most part, without the knowledge of Henry, while, at the same time, she was exerting her gentle and powerful influence in soothing the bitterness of her lord and healing the breach. Five letters from the queen to Anselm, be-

sides the one here given, are preserved amongst his correspondence. The first[a] was written before he left England, exhorting him to relax the long and rigorous fastings, by which she feared that his health would be seriously injured. She employed a learned scribe on this occasion, for her arguments are enforced by a quotation from Cicero, *De Senectute*. He answered her by an affectionate letter,[b] in which he styles her "glorious queen, reverend lady, and dearest daughter." The second letter[c] contained an urgent request from the queen for his immediate return. It was accompanied by one,[d] courteous though cold, from Henry, promising to live with him on the same friendly terms as his father had done with Archbishop Lanfranc. In the third,[e] Matilda assures him, in the warmest terms, how greatly she values his letters; but it is chiefly interesting from the fact, that in it she clearly cedes to him the right of ecclesiastical investiture, the principal point in dispute between him and her lord. She tells him that, "*as far as in her lay*," she had bestowed the Abbey of Malmsbury on Eleulf, a monk of Winchester, but that she had left the election open to his approbation or reversal. Of the remaining two letters, the former[f] expresses her earnest longings for his return to England, and the latter,[g] her consternation that, just as he was on the point of returning, he should have been detained by indisposition. She entreats him, if he has the slightest regard for her, to let her have immediate tidings concerning his health.

To her piously remembered father and worthily reverenced lord, Anselm the archbishop, Matilda, by the grace of God queen of England, the least of the handmaidens of his holiness, wishes perpetual health in Christ.

I give unnumbered thanks to your unceasing goodness, which, not unmindful of me, has condescended, by your letters presented to me, to shew forth your mind, though absent. The clouds of

[a] Book iii. No. 55. [b] Ibid. No. 57. [c] Ibid. No. 93.
[d] Ibid. No. 94. [e] Ibid. No. 119. [f] Book iv. No. 76.
[g] Book iv. No. 78.

sadness in which I was wrapped being expelled, the streamlet of your words has glided through me like a ray of new light. I embrace the little parchment sent to me by you, as I would my father himself: I cherish it in my bosom, I place it as near my heart as I can; I read over and over again the words flowing from the sweet fountain of your goodness; my mind considers them, my heart broods over them; and I hide the pondered treasures in the very secret place of my heart. Yet, while I praise all you have said, at one thing alone I wonder; that is, at what your discreet excellency has said about your nephew. Yet I do not think I can deal otherwise with your friends than my own. I might say with *mine* than my own, for all who are yours by kindred are mine by love and adoption. Truly the consolation of your writing strengthens my patience, gives and preserves my hopes, raises me when falling, sustains me when sliding, gladdens me when sorrowful, softens me when angry, pacifies me when weeping. Farther, frequent, though secret, consultation promises the return of the father to his daughter, of the lord to his handmaiden, of the pastor to his flock. I am encouraged to hope the same thing from the confidence which I have in the prayers of good men, and from the good will which, by skilfully investigating, I find to be in the heart of my lord. His mind is better disposed towards you than many men think; and, I favouring it, and suggesting wherever I can, he will become yet more

courteous and reconciled to you. As to what he permits now to be done, in reference to your return, he will permit more and better to be done in future, when, according to time and opportunity, you shall request it. But even though he should persist in being an unjust judge,[a] I entreat the affluence of your piety, that, excluding the bitterness of human rancour, which is not wont to dwell in you, you turn not from him the sweetness of your favour, but ever prove a pious intercessor with God for him and me, our common offspring, and the state of our kingdom. May your holiness ever fare well.

LETTER II.

Matilda of Scotland, Queen of Henry I., to Pope Paschal II. A.D. vers. 1103.

[SANCTI ANSELMI EPISTOLÆ, LIBER III. EPIST. XCIX. *Latin.*]

*** This letter to the pope was written on occasion of an appeal made to him by King Henry and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in reference to the contested question of ecclesiastical supremacy, the king offering to reinstate Anselm in his temporal dignities, provided the pope would cede the point of ecclesiastical investitures. This must, therefore, have been the concession for which Matilda so earnestly supplicates as the means of restoring to her her beloved pastor. But Pope Paschal was inexorable, and the issue of the contest was, that Henry was obliged to content himself by receiving the homage of the bishops for their temporal estates only.

[a] "Amplius quam æquum judicem;" *more than just* seems to be a delicate phrase for *unjust*.

To the highest pontiff and universal pope, Paschal, Matilda, by God's grace queen of the English, trusting that he will so dispense in this life the rights of the apostolic dignity, that he may deserve to be numbered among the apostolic senate in the joys of perpetual peace with the companies of the just.

I give all the thanks and praise I can to your sublime holiness, O apostolic man, for the things which your paternal charity, as though for admonition, has deigned to send to me and to my lord the king, both frequently by the words of your legates and also by your own writings. I visit the threshold of the most holy Roman apostolic seat, and as far as it is lawful and I am able, clasping your paternal knees with my whole heart, my whole soul, my whole mind, praying with importune and opportune petition, I cease not, nor will I cease, to entreat, till I know that my submissive humility, or rather the persevering importunity of my application, is heard by you. Yet let not your excellency be angry, let not the prudent Roman clergy, people, or senate, be amazed at this my rashness, that thus I presume to speak. Once, once, I say, we and the English people,— then how happy! — had, under your apostolic dignity, Anselm our archbishop, a foster-child of the Holy Ghost, the most prudent counsellor and pious father of us and the aforesaid people. From the most opulent treasures of his Lord, whereof we knew him to hold the keys, he

took abundantly, and bestowed them upon us more abundantly; for this same faithful minister and prudent dispenser of the Lord seasoned those things which he bestowed with the most excellent salt of wisdom, softened them with the sweetness of eloquence, and sweetened them by the wonderful conceits of rhetoric. And so it was that neither did the tender lambs lack the abundant milk of the Lord, nor the sheep the richest fatness of the pastures, nor the pastors the most opulent satiety of aliments. But now, when all these things are otherwise, nothing remains but that the pastor wanting food, the flock pasture, the young milk, utter forth the heaviest groans. Since, by the absence of the chief pastor, Anselm, each is deprived of something, or rather all of all things. In such lugubrious mourning, in such opprobrious grief, in such deformity and loss of our kingdom, nothing remains to me, stunned as I am, but, shaking off my stupor, to fly to the blessed Apostle Peter, and his vicar the apostolic man. Therefore, my lord, I fly to your benignity, lest we and the people of the kingdom of England perish in such a defect and lapse. What good will our life do us when we go down to corruption? Let your paternity take good counsel concerning us, and deign, within the term which my lord the king asks of your goodness, to let your paternal bowels be moved towards us, that we may both rejoice at the return of our dearest father, Archbishop Anselm, and preserve, uninjured, our subjection to the holy

apostolic see. I, indeed, taught by your most sound and gracious advice, will, as far as woman's strength may suffice, and with the help of worthy men, which I shall procure, endeavour, with my whole power, that my humility may, as far as possible, fulfil what your highness advises. May your paternity enjoy eternal happiness!

LETTER III.

Adela Countess of Blois, youngest Daughter of William the Conqueror, to Theobald Earl of Blois, her Son. A.D. 1130.

[MARTENE'S THESAURUS ANECDOTUM, VOL. I. COL. 373. FROM THE ARCHIVES OF MARMOUTIER. *Latin.*]

*** The following letter derives its principal interest from its remote antiquity, and from the station and character of its writer. It is one of the earliest letters in existence written by a member of the royal house of England. Of the Lady Adela many interesting records lie scattered amongst the ponderous tomes of our ancient Norman and French chroniclers. After an early disappointment in love, of which some curious particulars are given by Mabillon, in his "Annals of St. Benedict,"[a] she became, in 1075, the wife of Stephen earl of Blois. Her commanding character gave her considerable influence over her husband, and her name is constantly associated with his in the public acts of his government. Stephen joined the ranks of the Crusaders in company with Adela's brother, Robert duke of Normandy; but, though he was showy and brilliant in chivalrous accomplishments, he wanted the firmness to brave the privations and perils of a Crusader's life. He forsook the Christian host and returned home. His countess received him with vehement indignation, and never ceased her efforts till she had prevailed on him to seek to redeem his knightly character in another crusade. Fatally for himself, he complied with

[a] Vol. v. p. 183.

her wishes, but he died in the expedition. Two long letters, written by him to Adela during his pilgrimages, are still in existence.[a] On his decease, she became regent of the province during the minority of her sons; the eldest of these displaying a weak mind and vicious temper, she set him aside in the order of succession, and raised her favourite son, Theobald, to whom this letter is addressed, to the earldom. A few years afterwards, she retired from the busy theatre, on which she had played so conspicuous a part, to the quiet seclusion of conventual life, and took the veil in the convent of Marcigny. But even from the walls of her cloister she still extended her protecting influence to those whom she had formerly patronised, particularly to the monks of Marmoutier, who had been treated with the most liberal favour, both by herself and her husband. It was in their behalf that the following letter to her son Theobald, and another to Geoffry bishop of Chartres, were written. The piety of the Lady Adela is highly praised by the Norman chroniclers, as well as her abilities in government. Benoît tells us, that "in France there was no lady more beautiful, nor of greater valour, nor who more loved our Lord."[b] She died in the year 1137, being the last survivor of the family of William the Conqueror. It will be observed that, in the letter, the proud titles of "daughter of William the most glorious king of England, and wife of the noble Stephen earl palatine," which she adopted in earlier life, are dropped, and she simply styles herself "the nun of Martigny." In the letter to Bishop Geoffry, before alluded to, she adds that to which she still clung with maternal pride, "mother of Earl Theobald."

To her dearest Earl of Blois, Adela the nun of Marcigny sends the affections of maternal love.

I remember, dearest son, that while yet I wore a secular habit, the canons of St. Carilef complained about the tithe of the almsgift of Francville, which my consort, namely, the earl your father, and I gave to the monks of Marmoutier. About which be

[a] Acher's Spicilegium, vol. iii. p. 430; Mabillon's Museum Italicum, vol. i. p. 237.

[b] Harleian MS. 1717, fol. 249, col. 1.

it known to your grace, that these canons, in our presence, dismissed their complaints against the said monks, that this quarrel might be set to rest for ever without further renewal. Therefore I entreat you, dearest son, that our alms which we freely gave to the monks you will as freely keep for them, nor let the church of Marmoutier be teased with any further controversy about this affair. Farewell.

LETTER IV.

The Empress Matilda, Daughter of Henry I., to Thomas à Becket Archbishop of Canterbury. A.D. 1165.

[BOUQUET'S RECUEIL DES HISTORIENS DE LA FRANCE, VOL. XVI. p. 235. *Latin.*]

*** After the accession of Henry II. to the crown of England, when the disturbances between the king and Becket, the subtle and uncompromising Archbishop of Canterbury, arose, which shook the very throne of the great Plantagenet, Matilda was appealed to as mediatrix, her love of the Church and of her son rendering her alike acceptable to both parties. The penetration and sagacity which she evidenced in a contest so full of difficulty are commemorated even by those most opposed to her views. Nicolas of Rouen, an adherent of Becket, thus speaks of her in a letter to the archbishop: "You must know that the lady empress was ingenious in defence of her son, excusing him now by his love of justice, and now on account of the malice of some of the bishops. She was acute and discreet in comprehending the origin of the church disturbances; she said some things, in which we greatly praise and admire her sense, and made many acute remarks on the plurality of benefices and the idleness and luxury of some of the clergy, who have no fear of being called to

account, do what they will; and these statements she illustrated by recent examples."

The following letter was written by the empress to the archbishop during the course of the controversy, at the special request of the pope, Alexander III. The style is cold and abrupt, and through every sentence the feelings of the mother, who resents the injuries done to her son, are traceable. There are few more beautiful scenes in history than that presented by the aged empress, fast declining in the vale of years, yet rousing her expiring energies to guard the interests of that son in whose favour crown and coronet had been alike relinquished. She died shortly after the date of this letter, on the 10th of September, 1167, about one o'clock A.M. Her life, written by Arnulph bishop of Lisieux, was formerly preserved among the MSS. of the College of Navarre, at Paris, but is now sought for in vain.[a] Hugh de Fleury dedicated to her the continuation of his French History.[b]

To Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, Matilda the empress.

My lord pope sent to me, enjoining me, for the remission of my sins, to interfere to renew peace and concord between you and the king, my son, and to try to reconcile you to him. You, as you well know, have asked the same thing from me; wherefore, with the more good-will, for the honour of God and the Holy Church, I have begun and carefully treated of that affair. But it seems a very hard thing to the king, as well as to his barons and council, seeing he so loved and honoured you, and appointed you lord of his whole kingdom and of all his lands, and raised you to the highest honours in the land, believing he might trust you

[a] Introduction to the Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ, by Thomas Stapleton, Esq. F.A.S., vol. i. p. xc.

[b] Bouquet, vol. xvi. p. 226.

rather than any other; and especially so, because he declares that you have, as far as you could, roused his whole kingdom against him; nor was it your fault that you did not disinherit him by main force. Therefore I send you my faithful servant, Archdeacon Laurence, that by him I may know your will in these affairs, and what sort of disposition you entertain towards my son, and how you intend to conduct yourself, if it should happen that he fully grants my petition and prayer on your behalf. One thing I plainly tell you, that you cannot recover the king's favour, except by great humility and most evident moderation. However, what you intend to do in this matter signify to me by my messenger and your letters.

LETTER V.

Mary, Daughter of King Stephen, Countess of Bologne, to Louis VII. King of France. A.D. 1168.

[BOUQUET'S RECUEIL DES HISTORIENS DE LA FRANCE, VOL. XVI. p. 144. *Latin.*]

*** The Countess Mary was the last survivor of the once royal house of the aspiring usurper, Stephen of Blois. Her sister and her eldest brother, Prince Baldwin, died in infancy. Touching mementoes of the sorrowful affection which followed them to the tomb are to be found in the rich endowments offered by their parents for the welfare of their souls.[a] Prince Eustace, long the heir-apparent to the throne of Eng-

[a] Monasticon Anglicanum, new edition, vol. vi. pp. 694, 153. Hearne's William of Newbridge, notæ et spicilegium, p. 705.

land, died in 1153, just at the crisis when his glittering prospects were blighted by the agreement entered into by King Stephen, to bequeath his crown and realm to its lawful heir, Prince Henry. William earl of Boulogne, Mortain, and Warren, the sole surviving son, died childless in 1160. On his decease the two latter earldoms reverted to the English king, but that of Boulogne, which he had inherited through his mother, devolved upon his sister, Mary. She had been early dedicated to the cloister, and first took the veil at the priory of Stratford; she then became prioress of Lillechurch, a nunnery founded expressly for her by her father, and richly endowed by him and the queen, and was at length promoted to the abbacy of Rumsey, one of the most celebrated convents in England.[a] But when the young abbess held possession in her own right of a rich and fertile earldom she became an object of conspicuous attention, and Henry II., her nearest relation, took advantage of the unprotected helplessness of the orphan princess, and, in spite of her saintly vows, compelled her to become the wife of Matthew, son of the Earl of Flanders, hoping by this means to secure the alliance of that powerful house. Almost all contemporary writers speak of the reluctance with which the abbess Mary entered into these sacrilegious nuptials. The following letter, written about the year 1168,[b] affords proof of the bitter feelings she entertained towards the English king, who had been the author of her forced union. It was written during a temporary absence of Matthew, who had assumed the title of Earl of Boulogne, and governed the province in right of his wife. After nine years of wedded life, during which she had become the mother of two daughters, Matthew permitted his wife to return again to the conventual seclusion from which she had been forced. She chose as the place of her retirement the Convent of St. Austrebert, near Montreuil, which she entered as a simple nun in 1169, and died there twelve years afterwards, in 1181, having experienced in her short existence of forty-five years more painful vicissitudes than often fall to the lot of sorrowing humanity.

To her reverend lord Louis, king of the French, Mary, countess of Bologne, sends health and service.

[a] Monast. Anglic. vol. iv. p. 378; vol. ii. p. 506.

[b] See Bouquet's Recueil des Historiens de la France, vol. xvi. p. 144, note B.

Let it be known to your highness that Henry, king of England, has sent his ambassadors to the emperor. It is certain that he has, for the most part, succeeded in obtaining what he wished; for the emperor shews himself kindly disposed to the king, and his (the king's) ambassadors being on their return, he has not hesitated to send his own with them to him, which he thought the best course, lest the aforesaid king should doubt whether he was sincere in his assistance against you. The returning ambassadors passed through my territories, and I spoke with them, and well I perceived from their words that the English king ceases not, day nor night, to devise mischief against you. Wherefore I thought it fitting to send to your grace, and to give you the necessary forewarning, that you may take counsel with your wise men, and act as is most fitting, lest the impetuous presumption of the fraudulent king should inflict violent injury upon you. Fare you well.

LETTER VI.

Eleanora Queen of England, Widow of Henry II., to Pope Celestine. A.D. 1192.

[PETRI PLESENSIS EPISTOLÆ, NO. CXLVI. *Latin.*]

*** The following letter is one of three which were written by Eleanora of Aquitaine, at that time regent of England, urging the liberation of her son, Richard Cœur de Lion, from the cruel captivity in which he was detained by the Emperor Henry VI. The scribe

employed by the queen was the celebrated Peter of Blois, who was a sort of letter-writer in ordinary to the court of England; and though this eloquent epistle doubtless owes to him some of its learned allusions and poetic phraseology, yet the passionate spirit that breathes throughout, together with the stern reproaches it contains against the head of the church, plainly prove that the sentiments were those of the queen: for, surely, no churchman of the twelfth century would have dared to utter rebukes so poignant as those herein contained. In spite of the well-known faults of her early life, Eleanora was a fond and a faithful mother; her attachment to her brave son Richard, who had always been her favourite, is strongly marked in this letter, which also exonerates her from any share in the base proceedings of her youngest son, John. From one allusion which she makes, it appears that she actually paid a visit to the pope to procure his aid in the liberation of her son, but was deluded with fair words only. We should transport ourselves in imagination to the darkness of the twelfth century, when the fetters of spiritual despotism lay cold and heavy on the heart, to appreciate the fearless boldness which dared to point out, and in trumpet tones to reprimand, the cowardice, the slothfulness, and the venality, of the Romish see and its adherents. Yet this voice was that of a feeble woman, but that woman was a mother roused almost to frenzy by the wrongs and sufferings of her child. Who can read without emotion her passionate bewailings, alike over her dead and living children? So powerfully were her feelings excited, that in one letter she calls herself "Eleanora, by the *wrath* of God queen of England." It need scarcely be added that she not only lived to see the consummation of her hopes in the return of her beloved Richard, but also to weep over his early bier.

To the reverend father and lord Celestine, by God's grace highest pontiff, Eleanora the miserable, and I would I could add the commiserated,[a] queen of England, duchess of Normandy, countess of Anjou, entreating him to shew himself a father of mercy to a miserable mother.

[a] The point of this phrase evaporates in a translation of the words, "*misera* et utinam *miserabilis*."

I am prevented, O holiest pope, by the great distance which parts us, from addressing you personally; yet I must bewail my grief a little, and who shall assist me to write my words?

I am all anxiety, internally and externally, whence my very words are full of grief. Without are fears, within contentions; nor have I a moment wherein to breathe freely from the tribulation of evils, and the grief occasioned by the troubles which ever find me out. I am all defiled with grief, and my bones cleave to my skin, for my flesh is wasted away. My years pass away in groanings, and I would they were altogether passed away. O that the whole blood of my body would now die, that the brain of my head and the marrow of my bones were so dissolved into tears that I might melt away in weeping! My very bowels are torn away from me; I have lost the light of my eyes, the staff of my old age: and, would God accede to my wishes, he would condemn me to perpetual blindness, that my wretched eyes might no longer behold the woes of my people. Who will grant me the boon of dying for thee, my son? O mother of mercy! look upon a mother so wretched; or if thy Son, the inexhausted fount of mercy, is avenging the sins of the mother on the son, let him exact vengeance from her who has alone sinned: let him punish me, the wicked one, and not amuse himself with the punishment of an innocent person. Let him who hath begun the task, who now bruises me, take away his hand and

slay me; and this shall be my consolation, that, afflicting me with grief, he spares me not. O wretched me, yet pitied by none! why have I, the mistress of two kingdoms, the mother of two kings, reached the ignominy of a detested old age?

My bowels are torn away, my very race is destroyed and passing away from me. The young king and the Earl of Bretagne[a] sleep in the dust, and their most unhappy mother is compelled to live that she may be ever tortured with the memory of the dead. Two sons yet survived to my solace, who now survive only to distress me, a miserable and condemned creature: King Richard is detained in bonds, and John, his brother, depopulates the captive's kingdom with the sword, and lays it waste with fire. In all things the Lord is become cruel towards me, and opposes me with a heavy hand. Truly his anger fights against me, when my very sons fight against each other,—if, indeed, that can be called a fight in which one party languishes in bonds, and the other, adding grief to grief, tries by cruel tyranny to usurp the exile's kingdom to himself.

O good Jesus! who will grant me thy protection, and hide me in hell itself till thy fury passes away, and till thy arrows which are in me, by whose vehemence my very spirit is drunk up, shall cease? I long for death, I am weary of life; and though I

[a] Her eldest son, Henry, crowned king during his father's lifetime, and her third son, Geoffry, father of the unfortunate Prince Arthur.

thus die incessantly, I yet desire to die more fully; I am reluctantly compelled to live, that my life may be the food of death and a means of torture. O happy ye who pass away by a fortunate abortion, without experiencing the waywardness of this life and the unexpected events of an uncertain condition! What do I? why do I remain? why do I, wretched, delay? why do I not go, that I may see him whom my soul loves, bound in beggary and irons? as though, at such a time, a mother could forget the son of her womb! Affection to their young softens tigers, nay, even the fiercer sorceresses.

Yet I fluctuate in doubt: for, if I go away, deserting my son's kingdom, which is laid waste on all sides with fierce hostility, it will in my absence be destitute of all counsel and solace; again, if I stay, I shall not see the face of my son, that face which I so long for. There will be none who will study to procure the liberation of my son, and, what I fear still more, the most delicate youth[a] will be tormented for an impossible quantity of money, and, impatient of so much affliction, will easily be brought to the agonies of death. Oh, impious, cruel, and dreadful tyrant! who hast not feared to lay sacrilegious hands on the anointed of the Lord![b] nor has the royal unction, nor the reverence due to

[a] It is amusing to find maternal tenderness employing the terms "delicatissimus adolescens," to designate the sturdy form of Richard Cœur de Lion.

[b] "*Christum* Domini;" the word Christum is here used in its literal acceptation as "the Anointed."

a holy life, nor the fear of God, restrained thee from such inhumanity!

Yet the prince of the apostles still rules and reigns in the apostolic seat, and his judicial rigour is set up as a means of resort: this one thing remains, that you, O father, draw against these evil-doers the sword of Peter, which for this purpose is set over people and kingdoms. The cross of Christ excels the eagles of Cæsar, the sword of Peter the sword of Constantine, and the apostolic seat is placed above the imperial power. Is your power of God or of men? Has not the God of gods spoken to you by the Apostle Peter, that "whatsoever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever you loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven?"[a] Wherefore, then, do you so long negligently, nay, cruelly, delay to free my son, or rather do not dare to do it? You will, perhaps, say that this power is given to you over souls, not over bodies: be it so; it will certainly suffice me if you will bind their souls who hold my son bound in prison. It is your province to loose my son, unless the fear of God has given way to human fear. Restore my son to me, then, O man of God, if indeed thou art a man of God and not a man of blood; for know that, if thou art sluggish in the liberation of my son, from thy hand will the Most High require his blood. Alas, alas for us, when the chief shepherd has become a mercenary, when he flies from the face of the wolf,

[a] Matt. xvi. 19.

when he leaves the little sheep committed to him, or rather the elect ram, the leader of the Lord's flock, in the jaws of the bloody beast of prey! The good Shepherd instructs and informs other shepherds not to fly when they see the wolf coming, but to lay down their lives for the sheep. Save, therefore, I entreat thee, thine own soul, whilst, by urgent embassies, by salutary advice, by the thunders of excommunication, by general interdicts, by terrible sentences, thou endeavourest to procure the liberation, I will not say of thy sheep merely, but of thy son. Though late, you ought to give your life for him, for whom, as yet, you have refused to write or speak a single word. The Son of God, as testifies the prophet, came down from heaven that he might bring up them that were bound from the pit in which was no water.[a] Now, would not that which was fitting for God to do become the servant of God? My son is tormented in bonds, yet you go not down to him, nor send, nor are moved by the sorrow of Joseph. Christ sees this and is silent; yet at the last there shall be fearful retribution for those who do the work of God negligently. Ambassadors have been promised to us three times, but never sent; so that, to speak the truth, they are bound rather than sent.[b] If my son were in prosperity, they would eagerly hasten at his lightest call, be-

[a] Zech. ix. 11.

[b] The play of words is lost in translation; "*ligati* potius quam *legati*."

cause they would expect rich handfuls for their embassy from his great munificence and the public profit of the kingdom. But what profit could be more glorious to them than to liberate a captive king, to restore peace to the people, quiet to the religious, and joy to all? Now, truly, the sons of Ephraim, who bent and sent forth the bow, have turned round in the day of battle;[a] and in the time of distress, when the wolf comes upon the prey, they are dumb dogs who either cannot or will not bark. Is this the promise you made me at the castle of Ralph[b] with such protestations of favour and good faith? What availed it to give words only to my simplicity, and to illude by a fond trust the wishes of the innocent? So, in olden time, was King Ahab forbidden to make alliance with Ben-hadad, and we have heard the fatal issue of their mutual love.[c] A heavenly providence prospered the wars of Judas, John,[d] and Simon, the Maccabæan brothers, under happy auspices; but when they sent an embassy to secure the friendship of the Romans, they lost the help of God, and, not once alone, but often was their venal intimacy cause of bitter regret.[e] You alone, who were my hope after God, and the trust of my people, force me to despair. Cursed be he who trusteth in man. Where is now my refuge?

[a] There is an anachronism in this allusion. The sending forth of a bended bow was in ancient times a challenge of war, but we have no reason to suppose that it was in use amongst the Hebrews.

[b] "Castrum Radulphi."

[c] See 1 Kings, xx.

[d] Jonathan.

[e] See 1 Maccabees, vii. and ix.

Thou, O Lord, my God. To thee, O Lord, who considerest my distress, are the eyes of thine handmaid lifted up. Thou, O King of kings and Lord of lords, look upon the face of thine Anointed, give empire to thy Son, and save the son of thine handmaid, nor visit upon him the crimes of his father or the wickedness of his mother!

We know by certain and public relation that the emperor, after the death of the Bishop of Liege (whom he is said to have slain with a fatal sword, though wielded by a remote hand), miserably imprisoned the Bishop of Ostia and four other provincials, the Bishop of Salerno, and the Archbishop of Treves; and the apostolic authority cannot deny that, to the perpetual prejudice of the Roman church, he has, in spite of embassies, supplications, and threats of the apostolic seat, taken possession of Sicily, which from the times of Constantine has been the patrimony of St. Peter. Yet with all this his fury is not yet turned away, but yet is his hand stretched forth. Fearful things he has already done, but worse are still certainly to be expected; for those who ought to be the pillars of the church are swayed with reed-like lightness by every wind. Oh, would they but remember that it was through the negligence of Eli, the priest ministering in Shiloh, that the glory of the Lord passed away from Israel![a] Nor is that a mere parable of the past, but of the

[a] See 1 Samuel, iii. and iv.

present. For the Lord drove from Shiloh the tabernacle, his tabernacle, where he had dwelt amongst men, and gave their strength into captivity and their beauty into the hands of the enemy.

It is imputed to your pusillanimity that the church is trampled upon, the faith perilled, liberty oppressed, deceit encouraged by patience, iniquity by impunity. Where is the promise of God when he said to his church, "Thou shalt suck the milk of the Gentiles, and shalt suck the breasts of kings?" "I will make thee the pride of ages, and a joy from generation to generation."[a] Once the church, by its own strength, trod upon the necks of the proud and the lofty, and the laws of emperors obeyed the sacred canons. But things are changed, and not only the canons, but the very formers of the canons, are restrained by base laws and execrable customs. The detestable crimes of the powerful are borne with. None dare murmur, and canonical rigour falls on the sins of the poor alone. Therefore, not without reason did Anacharsis the philosopher compare laws and canons to spiders' webs, which retain weaker animals but let the stronger go. "The kings of the earth have set themselves, and the rulers have taken counsel together,"[b] against my son, the anointed of the Lord. One binds him in chains, another devastates his lands with cruel hostility, or, to use a vulgar phrase, "One clips and another plunders; one holds the foot and another

[a] Isaiah, lx. 16, 15. [b] Psalm ii. 2.

skins it." The highest pontiff sees these things, and yet bids the sword of Peter slumber in its scabbard; so he adds boldness to the sinner, his silence being presumed to indicate consent. He who corrects[a] not when he can and ought seems even to consent, and his dissimulating patience shall not want the scruple of hidden companionship.[b] The time of dissension predicted by the apostle draws on, when the son of perdition shall be revealed; dangerous times are at hand, when the seamless garment of Christ is cut, the net of Peter is broken, and the solidity of Catholic unity dissolved. These are the beginnings of sorrows. We feel bad things; we fear worse. I am no prophetess, nor the daughter of a prophet, but grief has suggested many things about future disturbances; yet it steals away the very words which it suggests. A sob intercepts my breath, and absorbing grief shuts up by its anxieties the vocal passages of my soul. Farewell.

The reader will probably smile at the concluding apology for *briefness*, in this prolix yet interesting epistle. In her third and last letter to the pontiff,[c] Eleanora apologises, and not without cause, for the boldness with which she addresses him. "But I beseech you, O father," says she, "let your benignity bear with that which is the

[a] Printed *corripit*, but the sense seems to require *corrigit*, which was probably the word originally written.

[b] Rather obscure: "Et dissimulatrix patientia societatis occultæ scrupulo non carebit." It probably means that companionship in guilt will not be wanting which may help to satisfy his scruples.

[c] Petri Blesensis epistolæ, No. cxlv.

effusion of grief rather than of deliberation. I have sinned, and use the words of Job:[a] I have said that which I would I had not said. But henceforth I place my finger on my lips, and say no more. Farewell."

LETTER VII.

Eleanora of Bretagne, Grand-daughter of Henry II. and Sister to Prince Arthur, to her Subjects in Bretagne. A.D. 1208.

[PATENT ROLL OF THE TENTH OF KING JOHN, MEMBRANE V. IN DORSO. *Latin.*]

*** Eleanora of Bretagne, commonly called the Fair Maid of Brittany, was the daughter of King John's elder brother, Geoffry, and consequently, on the death of her brother Arthur, the rightful heir to the English throne. The account given by the chroniclers of this lady is, that she was detained in rigorous captivity in the castle of Bristol, by her uncle, King John, and afterwards by her cousin, Henry III., because she positively refused to renounce her right to the crown. If, however, it was an established law in England, as appears from an entry on the close roll of the thirteenth of Henry III.,[b] "that it is not the custom or law in our land of England, that the daughter of an elder brother should impede the younger brother in his succession to the paternal inheritance," the English monarchs need not have stood in such dread of their beautiful but helpless relation. The mysterious death of Prince Arthur in 1202 was accompanied by the imprisonment of his sister, then a young girl sixteen or seventeen years of age. For some time, however, she was unaware of the hopeless, unending captivity to which she was to be subjected. In the following letter, she not only assumes the titles due to her, as heiress of Bretagne and Richmond, but expresses a hope of her speedy liberation—a hope doomed to perpetual disappointment. Her letter to her subjects was

[a] Chap. iv. ver. 4.

[b] Membrane 15, in dorso, quoted in p. xxxvi. of the introduction to the printed close rolls of John and Henry III., edited by T. Duffus Hardy, Esq. F.A.S. keeper of the records in the Tower of London.

accompanied by the safe conduct alluded to therein; the king says he has granted it at the instance of his "dearest niece Eleanora," but refrains from giving her the titles which she herself assumed. A few years afterwards, a document in the Fœdera mentions the safe transfer of the castle of Gloucester, and of Eleanora, the king's niece, from William, her former gaoler, to the king. Her captivity was not, however, of a severe or rigorous character. The people of Bretagne, not choosing to involve themselves in a quarrel with England, acknowledged her younger sister, Alice, as their duchess; and, without friends and without help, liberty would have been a bootless boon to the unfortunate princess. She had two companions in the sisters of Alexander king of Scotland, who were in the keeping of the king, to be honourably provided for by him in marriage. The following entries from the printed close rolls of John and Henry III. give an insight into the treatment and mode of life of this illustrious lady:—

"The Mayor of Winchester is commanded to send in haste to the king, for the use of his niece Eleanora and the two daughters of the King of Scotland, robes of dark green, namely, tunics and supertunics, with capes of cambric and fur of miniver, and twenty-three yards of good linen cloth; also, for the use of the king's niece, one good cap of dark brown, furred with miniver, and one hood for rainy weather, for the use of the same; besides robes of bright green for the use of her three waiting-maids, namely, tunics and supertunics, and cloaks, with caps of miniver or rabbit-skins, and furs of lamb's-skin; and thin shoes, for the use of the daughters of the King of Scotland, the king's niece, and her three waiting-maids; and, also, for the use of the king's niece, one saddle with gilded reins. And the mayor is to come himself with all the above articles to Corf, there to receive the money for the cost of the same."[a]

"The mayor and reeves of Winchester are ordered to send without delay, to Corf constabulary, for the use of the king's niece, a beautiful saddle with scarlet ornaments and gilded reins."[b]

"The treasurer and chamberlains are ordered to pay to Andrew Bukerel 6*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* which he laid out by the king's command in the following articles: namely, a silken couch, price 1*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.*, and delivered to John de Cundi, for the use of Eleanora the king's cousin, and Isabella daughter of the King of Scotland; two coverlets of fine linen, price 2*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*, likewise for their use; and six yards and a half of scarlet, price 1*l.* 3*s.*, to make two coverlets, also for the use of

[a] Date July 6th, 15 John, p. 144. [b] August 9th, Ibid. p. 150.

the same; and six yards and a half of dark green, price 13*s.*, to make a robe for the use of their waiting-maid; one fur of lamb's-skin, price 4*s.*, for the use of the same waiting-maid; and forty yards of linen cloth, price 21*s.*, for the use of the same Eleanora and Isabella."[a]

"The treasurer and chamberlains are ordered to pay out of the treasury to Master John de Beauchamp, the physician who administered medicine to the king's cousin, Eleanora, when sick, three marks, to purchase a palfrey in the room of the palfrey which he had lost in returning from Corf to London."[b]

"The Sheriff of Gloucester is ordered to cause necessaries to be provided for the king's cousin Eleanora, and her two waiting-maids, who are staying, by the king's order, in Gloucester Castle; and for Walter de St. Audoen, Richard de Landa, and Gilbert de Greinville, the keepers of the same Eleanora, with their six horses and eight men, together with the domestic establishment of the same Eleanora, as long as they stay there by the king's order; and the cost incurred for this is to be accounted to him at the Exchequer."[c]

"The sheriffs of London are ordered to let Ralph Musard have five ounces of silk for the use of Eleanora, the king's cousin."[d]

"The king to Peter de Orivall, greeting. We command you to let William our tailor have of our money, which is in your custody, 10*l.* to discharge the expenses of our cousin Eleanora at Marlborough. Let him also have two marks for the use of four foot servants, staying in our castle at Marlborough for the custody of the same Eleanora."[e]

"The treasurers and chamberlains are to pay out of the treasury to Robert Lovel, the bearer of the order, 10*l.* to defray the expenses of the king's cousin Eleanora."[f]

"The sheriffs of London are ordered to let Robert Lovel have one frail of figs, and another of almonds, for the use of the king's cousin, Eleanora."[g]

From the above entries it appears that Eleanora was not always confined to Bristol Castle, but occasionally visited the royal residences of Gloucester and Marlborough. Similar notices abound on every

[a] December 8th, 6 Henry III. p. 483.
[b] June 13th, Ibid.
[c] August 7th, p. 507.
[d] August 19th, p. 509.
[e] August 20th, 7 Henry III. p. 560.
[f] November 13th, 8 Henry III. p. 575.
[g] Ibid. From the introduction to the close rolls, pp. xxxvi. xxxvii.

close and liberate roll of the early part of the reign of Henry III., down to the year 1241, when she expired at Bristol Castle, and the king ordered the sum of 27*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* to be paid for her funeral expenses.[a]

The case of Eleanora of Bretagne affords one among many proofs that might be adduced of the extreme value of state records, when brought to bear upon particular points of history or biography, in correcting the mistakes and rectifying the misapprehensions that have arisen from relying solely on less authentic sources of information.

Eleanora, duchess of Bretagne and countess of Richmond, to her dear and faithful lords the bishops of Nantes, Vannes, and Cornwall, and to Eudo de Poule, and Geoffry Espine, and Oliver de Rugy, and Pagan de Mal-Estrail, and all other her barons and faithful subjects of Bretagne, greeting.

We give you manifold thanks concerning the things of which you have informed us, and earnestly entreat you that you, the above-named, come to England to my lord and uncle the king of England; and know you, certainly, that your advent will, God willing, tend to your and our great honour and convenience, and, by God's grace, to our liberation.

We have spoken with our said uncle about affording you a safe-conduct, and he is glad of your coming, and sends you his letters patent of safe-conduct; and you may all come safely by means of those letters—or as many of you as can, if all cannot come.

Witness myself, at Sarum, the 27th day of May.

[a] Liberate roll, 25 Henry III. memb. 6, date August 27th.

LETTER VIII.

Isabella Queen-Dowager of England, Countess of March and Angoulême, to her Son Henry III. A.D. 1220.

[ROYAL LETTER NO. 392, TOWER OF LONDON. *Orig. Latin.*]

*** The romantic history of the beautiful and high-spirited Isabella of Angoulême, the wife of King John, is too well known to need any lengthened detail. Betrothed in early life to Hugh X., surnamed Le Brun, earl of March, she broke off her engagement with him in favour of her royal suitor. The year subsequent to her marriage she became the mother of a princess named Joanna. The date of her birth has been generally misplaced by some years, being assigned to 1213 or 1214; but an entry in the Rotuli Normanniæ,[a] recently edited by Thomas Stapleton, Esq. F.A.S., proves that King John's eldest daughter was living in the year 1203. When the young Joanna grew up to girlhood, she was demanded in marriage by the former suitor of her mother, Hugh le Brun. His suit was granted, and she was actually sent to him, and was in his keeping on the death of her father, King John, in 1216. But a revolution speedily took place in her affairs. Queen Isabella, now a widow, resumed her former fascination over the heart of her quondam lover. The daughter was abandoned for the mother; and Isabella, whose first marriage had been one of ambition, now yielded to the claims of long-tried and faithful affection, and became the wife of Earl Hugh. This match was entered into privately when the queen was on the Continent, and without the knowledge of her young son, King Henry, and his council. The following letter was written to announce her marriage, and, in the ingenuity with which she endeavours to account for her conduct on political grounds, affords an amusing specimen of womanly *finesse*.

Two other original letters of Queen Isabella are in the Tower collection.[b] One addressed to her son, Henry III., in which she styles herself his humble mother, queen of England, renewing an application which before she had often and vainly made for his counsel and aid, and stating that she should be unable to govern and defend her territory in

[a] Vol. ii. p. 569.

[b] Nos. 393, 394.

case of a breach of the truce with France. In this letter she speaks of the Earl of March as "our husband, *your father.*" The other, which is greatly defaced through the application of an infusion of galls, is addressed to Pandulph, bishop elect of Norwich and papal legate in England, concerning the restoration of some lands to Bartholomew de Puy. It was evidently written after the death of King John, but before the second marriage of Isabella, because, though she twice makes favourable mention of Hugh de Lusignan, she does not speak of him as her husband.

To her dearest son Henry, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, earl of Anjou, Isabella, by the same grace queen of England, lady of Ireland, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, countess of Anjou and Angoulême, sends health and her maternal benediction.

We hereby signify to you that when the Earls of March and Eu[a] departed this life, the lord Hugh de Lusignan remained alone and without heirs in Poictou, and his friends would not permit that our daughter should be united to him in marriage, because her age is so tender, but counselled him to take a wife from whom he might speedily hope for an heir; and it was proposed that he should take a wife in France, which if he had done, all your land in Poictou and Gascony would be lost. We, therefore, seeing the great peril that might accrue if that marriage should take place, when our counsellors could give us no advice, ourselves married the said Hugh earl of March; and God knows that we did this rather

[a] The father and uncle of De Lusignan.

for your benefit than our own. Wherefore we entreat you, as our dear son, that this thing may be pleasing to you, seeing it conduces greatly to the profit of you and yours; and we earnestly pray you that you will restore to him his lawful right, that is Niort, the castles of Exeter and Rockingham, and 3500 marks, which your father, our former husband, bequeathed to us; and so, if it please you, deal with him, who is so powerful, that he may not remain against you,[a] since he can serve you well—for he is well-disposed to serve you faithfully with all his power; and we are certain and undertake that he shall serve you well if you will restore to him his rights, and, therefore, we advise that you take opportune counsel on these matters; and, when it shall please you, you may send for our daughter, your sister, by a trusty messenger and your letters patent, and we will send her to you.

LETTER IX.

Queen Berengaria, Widow of Richard Cœur de Lion, to Peter Bishop of Winchester. A.D. 1220.

[ROYAL LETTER NO. 285, TOWER OF LONDON. *Orig. Latin.*]

*** The two following letters are inserted less for the intrinsic interest of their contents than as literary curiosities, being amongst

[a] This passage is rather obscure. The original runs as follows:—"Et ita si placet vos habeatis erga eum qui tam potens est quod in vobis non remaneat."

the earliest epistles of an English queen of which the original is in existence. A facsimile of one of them is given in the frontispiece to this volume, as affording a correct specimen of the abbreviated Latin in which all state records of that early period are written. Mystic as the characters may seem to the uninitiated eye, the abbreviations are in reality so regular that, in spite of their numbers and minuteness, these documents may usually be read with as much accuracy as a modern printed volume. Of the crusading queen of Cœur de Lion the remaining records are so slight that we may be pardoned for detailing with more than usual minuteness such particulars as have not before been noticed. She was a frequent visitor at the court of her brother-in-law King John, as we find from the numerous safe-conducts granted to her and her servants, with freedom from all the customs usually exacted at the ports. Her first visit was in the second year of his reign, A.D. 1201, when the king gave a special order that she should be received with great honour as his dearest sister.[a]

In 1207 Pope Innocent III., as the especial guardian of widows and orphans, commanded one half of the moveables of King Richard to be given her by the king.[b]

In March 1215 some secret correspondence was carried on between her and John, the purport of which is not known. The king wrote to her, pledging himself to reveal nothing of what had passed between himself and her messengers; and she, on the other hand, was bound to the same secrecy.[c]

In the year 1216, in spite of the troublous state of the realm, Berengaria was disposed to take a tour of pleasure through England, and the king gave her unlimited power of travelling where she chose.[d] Her visit at this time was probably occasioned by her desire to recover part of her revenues, John having told her, in a piteous epistle, that the distressed state of his affairs prevented his remitting her dower regularly.[e] The queen experienced much difficulty in obtaining the jointure settled upon her by King Richard. It was originally fixed at 1000 marks a-year;[f] but the arrears so accumulated that, in 1215, she entered into a convention by which, in lieu of arrears, she received 1000*l.* per year.[g] The style adopted by her is the same as that in her letters, "Berengaria, by the grace of God formerly the humble Queen of England." This convention was solemnly ratj-

[a] Charter roll, 2 John, p. 103. [b] Fœdera, vol. i. p. 97.
[c] Close roll, 16 John, p. 202. [d] Patent roll, 18 John, p. 197.
[e] Fœdera, vol. i. p. 141. [f] Ibid. p. 84. [g] Ibid. p. 138.

fied by an oath sworn on the soul of the king, and the pope was appealed to to confirm it. At the same time the castles of Mairevent and Poictou and the city of Mans were confirmed to her in case they could be rescued from the French king.[a] In the reign of Henry III. the arrears having again accumulated, her annual payments were increased to 2000 marks.[b] Messengers sent from her to that monarch are frequently mentioned. Walter, the messenger alluded to in the queen's first letter, received three marks for his own expenses in going and returning, as well as the 1000 marks, the instalment of her dowry, on the 24th of November, 1220;[c] thereby fixing the date of her letter to that year. The latter was written four years afterwards from Mans, which, as before noticed, was assigned to her as one of her dower possessions.

To her venerable father in Christ and most cordial friend Peter, by God's grace bishop of Winchester, Berengaria, by the same grace formerly the humble queen of England, wishes health and every good thing.

We send to you our well-beloved Friar Walter, of the Cistercian order, the bearer of these presents, beseeching you humbly and devotedly, with all the humility that we can, that, in reference as well to this present feast of All Saints as to other terms now past, you will cause us to be satisfied about the money due to us according to the composition of our dower, which, by your mediation,[b] we made with our brother John of happy memory, formerly king of England. Fare you well!

[a] Charter roll, 17 John, p. 182.

[b] Fœdera, vol. i. p. 161.

[c] Close roll, 5 Henry III. p. 441.

[d] "Vobis mediante" in the original. The participle being in the singular, although the pronoun is plural.

LETTER X.

Queen Berengaria, Widow of Richard Cœur de Lion, to Henry III. A.D. 1225.

[ROYAL LETTER NO. 391, TOWER OF LONDON. *Orig. Latin.*]

To her lord and dearest nephew Henry, by God's grace illustrious king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, Berengaria, by the same grace formerly the humble queen of England, wishes health and prosperous success to his utmost desires.

We requested you by our letters patent, sent to you by Friar Walter de Persona, our chaplain of the Cistercian order, that you would send to us by the said Friar Walter and Master Simon, our clerks, 1000 marks sterling, which you owe us at this feast of All Saints, according to the composition of our dowry solemnly drawn out between us and you. But since the said Master Simon, being detained by sickness, cannot come over to you, we send in his stead our servant Martin, the bearer of these presents, earnestly requesting you to send us the thousand marks by the said Friar Walter, and by this Martin, or by one of them, if by any chance impediment both cannot come to you. In testimony of which we send you our present letters patent. Given at Mans, the Sunday next before the Feast of the

Apostles Simon and Jude,[a] in the month of October, the year of our Lord 1225.

LETTER XI.

The Nuns of St. Mary's of Chester to Eleanora, Queen of Henry III. A.D. 1253.

[ROYAL LETTER NO. 542, TOWER COLLECTION. *Orig. Latin.*]

*** The date of this piteous petition is probably about 1253, when Queen Eleanora exercised the office of Regent of England. It was successful in the attainment of its object, for the name of Dame Alicia de la Haye occurs in the list of the prioresses of St. Mary's in the year 1264, given in Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum.[b] That of her predecessor, Dame Alicia of Stockport, is not there given. The monastery of St. Mary's at Chester, which is supposed to have been afterwards merged in this nunnery, was founded before the Norman conquest. It is mentioned in Domesday Book,[c] and was standing at the time of the dissolution in the reign of King Henry VIII. The site was immediately north-west of the castle walls, and, in a lawn recently laid out in front of the castle, the pointed arch of a door-way is still existing which formed a part of the ancient nunnery. Many beautiful fragments of architecture were found in making the late alterations, and also many of the bones of the nuns who had slumbered for centuries in the dust below.[d]

To the most excellent lady Eleonora, by God's grace queen of England, lady of Ireland, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, countess of Anjou, her humble convent of nuns of St. Mary of Chester

[a] In 1225 this Sunday would be Oct. 26.

[b] Vol. iv. p. 312. [c] Vol. i. p. 263.

[d] Ormerod's History of Cheshire, vol. i. p. 274.

wishes her, if she pleases, health and happy success to her utmost desires.

When our prioress of happy memory, lady Alicia of Stockport, lately went the way of all flesh, we, having quickly sent a messenger about it to our most excellent lord Henry, by God's grace the illustrious king of England, according to the tenor of his benignant reply,[a] by a special letter of ratification sent to you on the morrow of St. Lawrence the Martyr's day,[b] having invoked the aid of the Holy Spirit, without any condition or reclamation, unanimously and cordially elected the lady Alicia de la Haye our sub-prioress, a woman deserving commendation for her life and conduct, as our prioress, all things thereto appertaining being canonically observed. Therefore it is that, mentally throwing ourselves at the feet of your excellency, since bowels of pity and mercy grow in you, we humbly and devoutly seek that you will deign, by the instinct of Divine compassion, to confirm the said Alicia as our prioress to our miserable convent, amidst its multiplied desolations. For so greatly are we reduced that we are compelled every day to beg abroad our food, slight as it is. The very secret places of our afflicted hearts cry out therefore to you, expecting the

[a] There seems to be an omission between the words "de" and "sui" in the original, which runs thus:—"De sui benigni responsi per literam specialem de ratihabicione vobis transmissam," &c. It should probably be read "de tenore."

[b] August 11th.

wished-for effect of our pious petition. And we, each one of us, will, as is fitting, and as we formerly did, now in future much more devoutly, offer prayers to the Lord for you and yours. May your ladyship ever fare well in the Lord!

LETTER XII.

Eleanora Queen-Regent of England, and Richard Earl of Cornwall, to Henry III. A.D. 1254.

[ROYAL LETTER NO. 396, TOWER OF LONDON. *Original Latin.*]

*** The following letter possesses much historic interest, as clearly developing the views and feelings of the principal classes of the subjects of England in the troublous reign of Henry III. It was written in February, 1254, when the king was absent on an expedition to Gascony, and after he had concluded a peace with the King of Castile by promising the hand of his young son Edward to Alphonso's sister, the Infanta Eleanora. Henry endeavoured to keep this treaty secret, in hopes of obtaining money to aid in his pretended wars, but rumours of it were already abroad, and the conditional manner in which the magnates of England promised their aid, *if* the Castilian king should attack Henry, shews that they were doubtful of the reality of such an attack, and feared that the demand for help was but one of the many *ruses* of their monarch to obtain money to lavish on himself and his favourites. They therefore promised assistance by personal service rather than by pecuniary grants. This letter also distinctly recognises the existence of a large, and independent, and wealthy body of English commoners, who, strenuous in the defence of their liberties, ever urged the fulfilment of the Magna Charta, as the sole condition of their pecuniary assistance, but who were willing cheerfully to contribute to the necessities of their sovereign, in case they could maintain inviolate this *palladium* of their rights. The same distrust of the king was felt by the clergy, who had been called upon, and had consented to contribute their quota to a crusade projected by their monarch, as a popular pretext for extorting money, without any real inten-

tion of ever performing it. A confidential communication like the present proves that the royal family were fully aware of the state of parties, and that Henry III., by his wilful obstinacy in persevering in his infringements on the liberties of his subjects, rushed with open eyes on his own destruction. The character of Queen Eleanora, as depicted in this letter, is that of an affectionate and faithful wife and a clear-sighted politician.

To their most excellent lord, the lord Henry, by God's grace the illustrious king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, his most devoted consort Eleanora, by the same grace queen of England, and his devoted and faithful Richard earl of Cornwall, send health with all reverence and honour.

Be it known to your revered lordship that the lords the earl marshall and John de Bailiol, being hindered at sea by a contrary wind during twelve days, came to us in England on the Wednesday after the Purification of Blessed Mary last past.[a]

We had been treating with your prelates and the magnates of your kingdom of England before the advent of the said Earl and John, on the quinzaines of St. Hilary last past[b] about your subsidy, and after the arrival of the said Earl and John, with certain of the aforesaid prelates and magnates, the archbishops and bishops answered us that if the King of Castile should come against you in Gascony each of them would assist you from his own property, so that you would be under perpetual obligations to them; but with regard to granting you

[a] Feb. 4th. [b] Jan. 27th.

an aid from their clergy, they could do nothing without the assent of the said clergy; nor do they believe that their clergy can be induced to give you any help, unless the tenth of clerical goods granted to you for the first year of the crusade, which should begin in the present year, might be relaxed at once by your letters patent, and the collection of the said tenth for the said crusade, for the two following years, might be put in respite up to the term of two years before your passage to the Holy Land; and they will give diligence and treat with the clergy submitted to them, to induce them to assist you according to that form with a tenth of their benefices, in case the King of Castile should attack you in Gascony; but at the departure of the bearer of these presents no subsidy had as yet been granted by the aforesaid clergy. Moreover, as we have elsewhere signified to you, if the King of Castile should come against you in Gascony, all the earls and barons of your kingdom, who are able to cross the sea, will come to you in Gascony, with all their power; but from the other laymen who do not sail over to you we do not think that we can obtain any help for your use, unless you write to your lieutenants in England firmly to maintain your great charters of liberties, and to let this be distinctly perceived by your letters to each sheriff of your kingdom, and publicly proclaimed through each county of the said kingdom; since, by this means, they would be more strongly animated cheerfully to

grant you aid; for many persons complain that the aforesaid charters are not kept by your sheriffs and other bailiffs as they ought to be kept. Be it known, therefore, to your lordship, that we shall hold a conference with the aforesaid clergy and laity at Westminster, in the quinzaines of Passover next, about the aforesaid aid, and we supplicate your lordship that you will write us your good pleasure concerning these affairs with the utmost possible haste. For you will find us prepared and devoted, according to our power, to solicit the aforesaid aid for your use, and to do and procure all other things . . . .[a] which can contribute to your convenience and the increase of your honour. Given at Windsor, the 13th of February, in the thirty-eighth year of your reign.

Endorsed, "A certain letter directed to King Henry by the queen his wife, about a certain subsidy for the said king, when the king was in Gascony."

LETTER XIII.

Matilda Prioress of the Convent of Barking to Henry III. A.D. 1258.

[ROYAL LETTER NO. 526, TOWER COLLECTION. *Original Latin.*]

*** The monastery of Barking, in Essex, was one of the most ancient and the most wealthy of the Benedictine establishments for

[a] Defaced in the original.

female recluses in England. It was founded in the seventh century by Erkenwald, then bishop of London; the foundation charter, dated 677, bears the crosses of three Saxon monarchs, who attested it by their *marks*, and it is worthy of remark that these royal signatures are placed *after* those, not only of bishops, but of abbots and presbyters, thus shewing the superior dignity then attached to the ecclesiastical profession. One of its original charters is still preserved, a venerable relic of antiquity, among the Cottonian MSS.[a] Barking Monastery boasted amongst its abbesses several ladies of the Saxon blood royal. It is said to have been the residence of William the Conqueror, previous to the erection of the Tower of London. Mary sister of Thomas à Becket, Maud a natural daughter of Henry II., and Maud a natural daughter of King John, are named among its later abbesses. It was surrendered in 1539 to Henry VIII., and the abbess with thirty nuns were pensioned off. An ancient gateway, over which is the chapel of Holyrood, forms now the principal remain of this once magnificent abbey.[b]

In the office of the duchy of Lancaster is a curious letter, or rather indenture, from a subsequent abbess of Barking,[c] dated 1284–5, by which permission is graciously granted to one Sir Thomas de Weylond to have a private service performed by the presbyter in a domestic chapel which he himself had erected, whenever he or his wife should be present at that service, but not otherwise. His abode being within the precincts of the parish, such worship would have been considered unlawful without a special permission.

To her most excellent lord Henry, by God's grace illustrious king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, Matilda, humble prioress of Barking, and of the convent of the same place, wishes health, with due reverence and honour, and the suffrages of her prayers.

[a] Augustus II. number 29.

[b] Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. i. pp. 437–9.

[c] Original Grants, &c. box v. No. 152.

Since the lady our mother, venerable for her religion, the lady Christina, late abbess of our house, did on the Monday next after the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, in the forty-third year of your reign,[a] of her own good and spontaneous will, yield up the government of the said abbey, on account of the infirmity and debility of her body, and was absolved from it by our venerable father Foulk,[b] bishop of London, we now, being destitute of the solace of an abbess, send to you our beloved sisters and fellow-nuns, Roesia de Argentes, Joanna de Wantham, and Agnes Costentin, humbly and devoutly supplicating that the bowels of your compassion may be moved towards us, and that the condescension of your mercy will grant us permission to elect some other as our abbess, so that henceforth you may receive from the highest retributor a worthy reward, and we may be henceforth obligated more specially to offer up the merited suffrages of our prayers for you and yours. Given at Barking the Tuesday after the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, in the forty-third year of your reign.[c]

This petition was favourably received, the permission granted, and Matilda de Leveland was elected on Friday, the day of St. Lucia the Virgin (Dec. 13th). It does not appear that Matilda de Leveland was the same person who wrote the letter, since, in the epistle which communicates the tidings of the election to the king, the nuns merely say that they have elected a fellow-nun, "*commonialem*," and do not speak of her as the former prioress. *Tower Letter, No.* 527. The

[a] Dec. 2d, 1258. [b] Foulk Basset. [c] Dec. 3d, 1258.

name of the former abbess was Christina de Boscham, as appears from letter No. 525, *Tower Collection.*

LETTER XIV.

Lady Havisia de Neville to her Son, Hugh de Neville. A.D. vers. 1258.

[ORIGINAL GRANTS, ETC. BOX IV. NO. 138; OFFICE OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER. *Original French.*]

*** The document now laid before the reader is, perhaps, the earliest specimen of a lady's familiar letter in existence, the epistolary correspondence which is extant being such as is preserved amongst the state archives, usually partaking, more or less, of the nature of state documents. A fortunate accident has preserved the present, amongst many other records of the Neville family, in the office of the duchy of Lancaster. The second husband of Havisia de Neville, to whom she refers as the father-in-law of her son, was Sir John de Gatesden. His name occurs several times as a confidential clerk of Henry III.[a] They were married in or before the year 1258, for in that year Havisia is mentioned as his wife in a charter of the abbot and chapter of the order of Prænonstier, granting her a participation in the prayers of that order.[b] She was a considerable landed proprietor, holding fifteen manors in the county of Sussex.[c] She and her husband died nearly at the same time, in the year 1268.[d] Hugh de Neville was afterwards an adherent of the Montfort faction,[e] and it was probably his leaning towards the barons' party that, in his absence from home, created the difficulties and embarrassments of which his mother complains.

Havisia de Neville to her very dear son, Hugh de Neville, wishes health and the blessing of God and her own.

[a] Fœdera, vol. i. pp. 218, 219, 343.
[b] Box A, art. 44, Duchy of Lancaster's Office.
[c] Calend. inquis. post mortem, p. 43.
[d] Ibid. p. 32.
[e] Calend. patent rolls, 50 Henry III. p. 38.

Know, dear son, that I am well and hearty, thanks to God, and am much rejoiced at the news that William Fitz Simon brought me of your health. God be thanked for it! Know, dear son, that our necessities of receiving the returns from your lands can avail nothing, on account of the great rule your adversary has in the king's court, unless you yourself were present. Wherefore your father-in-law and I, and all your other friends, agree that you should come to England, and we pray and entreat you, by the faith and love that you owe us, that you will not by any means fail in this; since you ought once again to return. For we know well that it would be a very great dishonour, and we consider it a great sin, to suffer us and ours to be disinherited by your indolence. Therefore I anxiously pray you, dear son, that you will travel with all possible haste, and also, according to the counsel of all your friends, that you go to the court of Rome, and procure if you can the letter of the pope, express and stringent, to the king of England, that he should restore your lands, and have them restored. And that you may make a proper understanding at the court of all our needs, without omitting or concealing anything; that is, how you are placed with the king, and that you are compelled by a writing to hold the (obligation),[a] without contradiction and without ever making an

[a] The word *obligation* is conjectural: there is an evident omission in the original.

acquisition to the contrary. For wise persons have said the acquisition would be worth nothing, unless it made express mention of this, that it was through no fault of yours that you made this the aforesaid obligation when in war, and through fear of prison. And know, good son, that the first acquisition you got at Rome for our lands was not such as you understood, for it was only a loving petition for your rights of the money which you ought to have had of the crusade allowance. The legate, thanks to him, has granted us that he would let us have it if we could espy out where it is, but we have not as yet found any, except what is in the hands of such as themselves would wish to go into the Holy Land; but as much as we may be able to acquire, now or henceforth, between this and St. John's day, we will then send you by the messengers of the Temple, who will bring their own money. And for God's sake, good son, guard against making such an obligation as you have made for Sir Ingelram de Umfranville; for I was grieved that it was proper to have it paid from our own demesne. And good, sweet, dear son, I anxiously pray you that you will send us word how much money you have really had by my command, for the thing is not in my power, for I could never spy a man who went to that part, that I might send you letters, which weighs no little upon me. For if it could be that I could often have good news of you, and comfort you again often by my messages, there would be nothing that could more rejoice me,

except it were to see and speak to you. And know, dear son, that my heart is grieved and alarmed day and night, since William Fitz Simon brought me news that you were so poorly provided with money; but God who is Almighty, if it please him, give you speedy amendment, and I will do it to my utmost power. Dear son, I pray you not to trust too much to the money of the crusade allowance, for they say that more great lords of England will take the cross; and they will take away as much as shall be raised for the crusade, as certain friends have given me to know. But do not ever cease, as you dearly love me, for no waiting for money, to borrow all the money that you can, and to go to the court of Rome to acquire for our necessities, and to hasten to come to England to accomplish our needs. For I hope, by the help of God, if you could well accomplish what you have to do about the acquisition of our lands, that you will see such change[a] in England, that never in our time could you have better accomplished your wish, or more to your honour. Wherefore cease not to solicit again about your coming, since you can here best serve God. I commend you to the true body of God, who give you life and health. Sir Walter de la Hide, Joanna your sister, and all our household, salute you. And know, dear son, that my counsel is that you obtain the letters of request of the legate of that country, and the letters of the master of the Temple and of the Hospital,

[a] *Mut* in orig.

to the legate of England and to other rich men, for your needs, and in testimony of your deeds in that country on the occasion of your coming. And ever take care of your house that you have there, if God give you courage to return.

To Sir Hugh de Neville.

Endorsed in Latin, in a later hand, "The letter of the Lady Havisia de Neville, directed to the Lord Hugh her son, being in the Holy Land."

LETTER XV.

Eleanora Queen of Edward I., to Robert Burnell, Lord Chancellor.

[ROYAL LETTER NO. 1111, TOWER OF LONDON. *Original Latin.*]

*** The following is the only original letter of Queen Eleanora of Castile known to be in existence. Unlike her enterprising mother-in-law, this gentle queen seems to have lived only in and for her husband and children; and, although several joint epistles of herself and the king are extant, her individual correspondence appears to have been small, and, from her own testimony in the letter itself, to have been usually on behalf of her friends. The Lady Constance here named was probably the widow of Henry of Germany, cousin of Edward I., one of whose letters immediately follows. The date of the present epistle will be between 1274, when Eleanora of Castile first landed in England as queen, and 1279, when, on the death of her mother, the Countess-queen Joanna, she assumed the title of Countess of Guienne and Pouthieu, which in the letter she does not use. Robert Burnell, archdeacon of York, to whom it is addressed, was chancellor from 1274 to 1292. Previously to his elevation to that dignity he had been

the secretary and confidential clerk of Edward I.,[a] a fact which accounts for the free and affectionate style in which the queen addresses him.

Eleanora, by God's grace queen of England, lady of Ireland, and duchess of Aquitaine, to lord Robert Burnell, sends loving greeting.

We require and affectionately entreat you to give counsel and assistance to this affair, that the transgression injuriously committed against the bearer of these presents, the servant of the lady Constance our cousin, which Master John Clarell will shew you, may be reasonably redressed. For the confidence which we have in your benevolence is the cause why we so often direct to you our prayers on behalf of our friends. And do you for love of us give such diligence in this affair, that we may henceforth be bound to you by special favour. Given at Guildford, xiiij day of October.

LETTER XVI.

Constance Widow of Henry of Germany, the Nephew of Henry III., to Edward I. A.D. vers. 1279.

[ROYAL LETTER NO. 1454, TOWER OF LONDON. *Original Latin.*]

*** The writer of the following letter was the eldest daughter of the celebrated Gaston VII., viscount of Bearn, whose troublesome opposition to the English power in Gascony was a source of perpetual annoyance during the reign of Henry III. Though repeatedly con-

[a] See Catalogue of Lords Chancellors, &c., by T. Duffus Hardy, Esq., p. 12, note 1.

quered, and even taken captive, Gaston always contrived to escape unhurt, on account of the partiality entertained by King Henry for his wife; who, in spite of her great corpulence, and other unfavourable personal peculiarities, which are described with quaint oddity by Matthew Paris, possessed a powerful influence over the English king. The first husband of Constance was Alfonso, son of James I., of Aragon, on whose decease she married Henry, eldest son of Richard, king of Germany, and consequently grandson of King John.[a] As Constance was an eldest daughter, and without brothers, the English prince probably hoped to inherit through her the viscounty of Bearn, but a premature and shocking death put an end to his aspiring wishes. On his return home, after having visited the Holy Land in company with his cousin Prince Edward, while passing through the town of Viterbo, in Italy, he was cruelly murdered in cold blood by two of the sons of Simon de Montfort, then exiles in Italy. This atrocious crime was committed in revenge for the sufferings which the Montfort family had endured in the death of their father and eldest brother, and their own banishment; but it was as unjust as it was unmerciful, for Henry had had no share in their punishment. His desertion in 1263 from the cause of the barons, to which at one time he had allied himself, was probably the real cause of their exasperation against him.[b]

Constance, left a widow a second time, had, it would seem, returned to her own country. What were the circumstances that had created the coldness between her and King Edward, of which she complains, does not appear, unless it were occasioned by her reluctance to form a new matrimonial engagement, into which it was the king's wish she should enter.

The letter No. 1456, in the Tower collection, is from Gaston de Bearn to Edward I., promising, *according to the king's request*, to marry his eldest daughter, widow of Henry of Germany, to Aymon count of Geneva, and earnestly requesting that the arrears of dower due to her from England might be sent by her clerk, master William R., now in that country on her business, that in her approaching departure from Gascony; she may use the money to farther

[a] L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. ix. p. 263.

[b] Trivel's Annals, p. 16. For a detailed account of this tragedy, see a letter from Philip of France to Richard king of Germany, in the "Liber de Antiquis legibus," Harleian MS. 690, fol. 142. Villani, Hist. Flor. Muratori's Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. xiii. col. 261; and Gebauer's Leben des Kaiser Richards, p. 274.

her own affairs; but this marriage is not recorded to have really taken place.[a]

To the most serene prince, and, if it please him, her dearest lord, Edward, by God's grace king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, his humble and devoted Constance, relict of the late noble man Henry of Germany, wishes health, and commends herself with devoted obsequiousness and honour.

Be it known to your excellency, that for some time last past I have not dared, through fear of you, to write to your highness, nor to signify anything to you, whereof of good cause I grieved, and was beyond measure distressed at heart. But now, by the leave and counsel of the Lord Bishop of Bath, and Lord Otho de Grandison, I have dared to write to you, which gives me all possible joy, supplicating your royal majesty that you will deign diligently to search out and inquire the truth from the said lord bishop and Sir Otho concerning my estate, and about all things which have hitherto been done and attempted about me; for they, if they choose, can for the most part certify you as to the premises. Yet I much desire, and long above all things, that I could speak face to face with your highness about my estate and other things concerning me. Wherefore I pray your lordship, as affectionately and

[a] This letter is endorsed 7 Edward I., or 1279, which thus affords a clue to the date of the one here given.

humbly as I can, by that dear love which by your favour you were wont to bear me, and still bear as I hope, that if it would please you that I might come to your highness, you will command my lord and father, when he shall be in England, to send for me by his letters. And I believe he will do it willingly, if you will command or advise it. Please it your highness to give credence to our dear and trusty clerk, Master William R., of Miremont, the present bearer, in reference to the premises and all other things which he will say to you on our behalf. May the Most High long preserve your person and dominions, and give you increase of favour and honour!

To the illustrious King of England.

LETTER XVII.

Eleanora Queen-Dowager of England to her Son, Edward I. A.D. vers. 1279.

[ROYAL LETTER NO. 1104, TOWER OF LONDON. *Original French.*]

Eleanora, by God's grace queen of England, to our dear son Edward, by the same grace king of England, health and our blessing.

Know, sweet son, that we have understood that a marriage is in agitation between the son of the King of Sicily and the daughter of the King of Germany; and, if this alliance is made, we may well be disturbed in the right that we have to the fourth part of Pro-

vence, which thing would be great damage to us, and this damage would be both ours and yours. Wherefore we pray and require you, that you will specially write to the aforesaid king, that since Provence is held from the empire, and his dignity demands that he should have right done to us about it, he will regard the right that we have, and cause us to hold it. Of this thing we especially require you, and we commend you to God.

The King of Sicily here alluded to is Charles of Anjou, whose first wife, Beatrix of Provence, was the sister of and coheiress with Queen Eleanora. The apprehensions of the queen for her Provençal rights arose from the fear that the German emperor would try to procure more than a due share for the Sicilian prince, if he became his son-in-law. Either from the opposition of Queen Eleanora, however, or some other cause, this deprecated marriage never took place. It was probably upon the business mentioned in this letter that Edward I. wrote to Rodolph of Hapsburg, requesting him to facilitate the business of his mother in Provence, assuring him that her concerns are as dear to him as his own, and urging him to expedite the affair. His letter is dated the 3rd of April, 1279. The queen had evidently some trouble in guarding her remote possessions from the encroachments of her sisters, for she wrote another letter to Edward about "my lady of France, our sister" (Queen Margaret), who was trespassing upon some part of Provence.

LETTER XVIII.

Eleanora Princess of Wales to her Cousin, King Edward I. A.D. vers. 1279.

[ROYAL LETTER NO. 1333, TOWER OF LONDON. *Original Latin.*]

*** Eleanora princess of Wales, the writer of the two following letters, was the daughter of the celebrated Simon de Montfort, the rebel

hero of England of the thirteenth century, by the Princess Eleanora, youngest daughter of King John. She was born about Michaelmas, 1252, at a time when her father was absent on the king's service in Gascony. The place of her nativity was the venerable castle of Kenilworth, which, then in the pride of baronial strength and splendour, had been assigned to her mother as a residence by King Henry III.[a] A nurse, called the Lady Alice, was sent from court to usher into the world this scion of royalty, and Queen Eleanora of Provence gave a present of 40*s.* (equal to 30*l.* of our present money) to Peter, the barber of the Earl of Montfort, who was despatched to convey the tidings of her birth.[b] Adam de Marisco, the chaplain of the Countess Eleanora, wrote her a congratulatory note upon the birth of the infant, expressive of thankfulness to God "who had had respect to her prayers, and not despised her devotion, granting her freedom from perils and anxieties, and the joy of a numerous and promising offspring."[c]

The education of the young Eleanora seems to have been superintended by Marisco and her father's friend and companion, Robert Grostête, the learned bishop of Lincoln. In the very interesting wardrobe account of the Countess of Montfort for the year 1265, recently edited for the Bannatyne Club by T. Hudson Turner, Esq.,[d] a notice occurs of a pocket-breviary for the "Demoiselle de Montfort," an indirect proof that the young lady possessed the rare accomplishment of reading. The same document mentions her sending letters to her cousin, Prince Edward;[e] but very different must have been the epistles written to her captive cousin by the youthful daughter of the proud De Montfort, who then held the royal family of England in his

[a] Patent roll, 28th of Henry III., membrane 8.

[b] Rotulus nunciorum Reginæ Eleanoræ, No. 370, Queen's Remembrancer Office. This roll forms one of a complete series of curious and interesting rolls, containing the entire expenditure of Queen Eleanora during the years 1252 and 1253; probably the earliest documents of the kind in existence relative to female royalty.

[c] Epistolæ Adami de Marisco, Cottonian MS. Vitellius, C. VIII., fol. 57. These curious and valuable letters are amongst the most interesting of the yet inedited documents of the period, both as regards historical and domestic particulars.

[d] In a volume entitled Manners and Customs of England in the thirteenth and fifteenth Centuries, presented to the society by Beriah Botfield, Esq.

[e] Page 27.

own hands, and ruled with all but sovereign sway, from those which are here presented to the reader, written when their mutual relations were so completely reversed.

During the time of her father's prosperity Eleanora had been plighted to Llewelyn prince of Wales, and such was the constancy of his affection for her, that, after the overthrow of the Montfort faction and the banishment of the whole family from England, he still chose to claim the orphan exile for his bride, and sent to France, whither she had retired, to demand the fulfilment of their early troth. After the marriage had been performed by proxy, in 1276, the bride, attended by her brother Amalric de Montfort, set sail for Wales.[a] But long continued jealousies had subsisted between Edward I. and Llewelyn. The king heard of the projected voyage of Eleanora, and her vessels were stopped and seized off the Scilly Islands by some merchant-vessels of Bristol. This seizure has been generally represented as a private act, unwarranted by royal authority, but Bartholomew of Norwich, one of the most authentic contemporaneous chroniclers, affirms that it was done by the king's commission,[b] and his assertion is borne out by the fact that Edward gave 200 marks to the crews of the vessels who had captured the bride.[c]

Eleanora was detained upwards of two years in the castle of Windsor, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of Llewelyn, until Edward I. had extorted from the impatient bridegroom such terms as he chose to dictate; which were, that he should hold the mountain-land, for the liberty of which his forefathers had bravely fought and nobly died, as a fief of the English crown, and should relinquish actual possession of a large portion of it.[d] It was only by swearing an oath which, as it rang through the Welsh mountains, thrilled the heart of every son of Cambria with patriotic sorrow, and woke up the spirit of its bards to strains of enthusiastic indignation and passionate bewailing, that the ill-omened nuptials of Llewelyn and Eleanora were concluded. They were married at Worcester on the 13th of October, 1278, the king and queen gracing the bridal with their presence.[e] The wardrobe-book of the year contains entries of

[a] Chron. Ickham, Harl. MS. 4323, fol. 61. Cotton. MS. Vespasian, E. II. fol. 65 b.

[b] Cotton. MS. Nero, C. V. fol. 251 b.

[c] Liberate roll, 4th of Edward I., membrane 3.

[d] Triveti Annales, pp. 250, 251.

[e] Chron. Aberconwey, Harl. MS. 3785, fol. 49. Chron. Petrob.

payments for a coverchief purchased for the Princess of Wales, and of rewards given to a messenger for bringing to the king four hounds, and to the queen two hares, as a present from Llewelyn.[a] In the liberate roll is an order of payment for the conveyance of the luggage of "Eleanora, wife of our beloved and faithful Llewelyn, prince of Wales," on her journey from Worcester towards Whitchurch.[b]

The good understanding between the king and prince was not of long continuance, the indignant spirits of the Welsh constantly inciting their prince to break the terms of a treaty so dishonourable. The manner in which the gentle Eleanora strove to mediate between the contending factions, and to soothe the ruffled spirit of her irritated relative, Edward I., is displayed in the following epistle, penned probably in the year 1279.

To her excellent lord and well-beloved cousin, the Lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, his devoted cousin Eleonora, princess of Wales, lady of Snowdon, with such sincere affection as becometh, sends health to so great and so near a kinsman.

Be it known to your excellency, that we desire to hear good and prosperous news concerning your state and condition: therefore we entreat your excellency, humbly and earnestly, for our love's sake, that you deign to make known to us, as your humble cousin, and one ready to do your good pleasures, your state; and whether you wish any thing within

Addit. MS. 6913, fol. 239. Cotton. MSS. Vesp. A. II. fol. 66; Nero, D. fol. 231 b. col. 3.

[a] Wardrobe book of the 6th of Edward I., Miscellaneous roll, No. 44, in the Tower of London.

[b] Liberate roll, 6th of Edward I., membrane 1.

our power which may redound to your honour, or may please your majesty.

Although, as we have heard, the contrary hereto hath been reported of us to your excellency by some; and we believe, notwithstanding, that you in no wise give credit to any who report unfavourably concerning our lord and ourself, until you learn from ourselves if such speeches contain truth: because you shewed, of your grace, so much honour and so much friendliness to our lord and ourself, when you were at the last time at Worcester.

Wherefore, whatever you shall demand from us in this, or other matters that you wish, we shall ever be ready, according to our ability, to execute and accomplish.

Given at Llanmaes, the 8th day of July.

LETTER XIX.

Eleanora Princess of Wales to her Cousin, King Edward I. A.D. 1280.

[ROYAL LETTERS, TEMP. EDWARD I., TOWER OF LONDON.[a] *Original Latin.*]

*** It has previously been noted that Amalric de Montfort, the brother and guardian of Eleanora, was taken captive with her in 1276.

[a] The letters of this period are yet uncalendared, and therefore the number cannot be given.

Long after her release and marriage he still lingered in close imprisonment. In 1280 some movements were made for his relief, which in the following year proved successful through the mediation of Pope Martin I., who interfered warmly in the matter, Amalric being a son of the church.[a] The anxiety felt by Eleanora on his behalf was intense, and the earnest eloquence of her sisterly pleadings in the following letter need no comment. The unfortunate princess of Wales survived the release of her brother little more than a year. Worn with early sorrow, she died on the 21st of June, 1282, in giving birth to an infant daughter.[b] Her early death saved her the pangs of witnessing the disastrous termination of the contests with England, when the head of Llewelyn, the last prince of Wales, her faithful and devoted husband, was sent to blacken on the walls of the Tower of London—a fearful monument of the vengeful wrath of his mighty antagonist. The romantic history of this lovely and ill-fated lady, as far as it may be dimly traced amidst the records of the far past, affords a fitting illustration of the proverb that "Truth is oftentimes strange—stranger than fiction."

To the most excellent prince, and also her very dear cousin, the Lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, his devoted Eleonora, princess of Wales, lady of Snowdon, sends health, with such sincere affection as becometh to so great a lord and so near a kinsman.

We make it known to your excellency by these presents, that we, blessed be God, enjoy good health and prosperity; which same we not only desire, but long to learn, concerning yourself.

[a] He was released about the feast of St. Cuthbert, March 20th. Chron. Wikes. Gale's Scriptores, vol. ii. p. 110.

[b] Chron. Barthol. Norwich. Cotton. MS. Nero, C. V. fol. 203 b.

And whereas it has been reported to us by some that you propose to have it debated, in the present parliament, touching the relieving the condition of our very dear brother, the Lord Amalric, therefore, with clasped hands, and with bended knees and tearful groanings, we supplicate your majesty that, reverencing from your inmost soul the Divine mercy (which holds out the hand of pity to all, especially to those who seek Him with their whole heart), you would deign mercifully to take again to your grace and favour our aforesaid brother and your kinsman, who humbly craveth, as we understand, your kindness.

For if your excellency, as we have often known, mercifully condescends to strangers, with much more reason, as we think, ought you to hold out the hand of pity to one so near to you by the ties of nature.

May you long fare well in the Lord!

Given at Saint Anneir, on the feast of Saint Luke the Evangelist.*

Endorsed, "It was answered to her that the affair was treated of in that parliament, and that what could be done has been done, and it is believed that the liberation of her brother has been greatly forwarded by that which has been said."

* October 18th.

LETTER XX.

Eleanora Queen-Dowager of England to her Son, Edward I.

[ROYAL LETTER NO. 1411, TOWER OF LONDON. *Original French.*]

*** It is well known that Eleanora of Provence, after half a century of active life as the wife or widow of Henry III., retired to end her days, some of which had been chequered and sorrowful ones, in the nunnery of Amesbury, a branch of the great foreign convent of Fontevraud. Her profession took place in July, 1286,[a] after a farewell visit which she had paid to her relations on the Continent.[b] A contemporaneous chronicler gives an interesting account of her conventual habits. He tells us that "she filled her hands with good works; that she spent her whole time in orisons, vigils, and works of piety; that she was a mother to the neighbouring poor, especially to the orphan widows and monks; and that her praise ought to resound above that of all other women.[c] Besides other large charities, she distributed every Friday 5*l.* in silver—a large sum in those days—to the neighbouring poor."[d] When she exchanged the crown for the veil—the proud title of Queen of England for that touchingly simple one of "humble nun of Fontevraud," Eleanora seems indeed to have laid aside the "pomps and vanities" of the world, and to have devoted herself, with the zealous energy that characterised her ardent temperament, to works of religion. The present letter is in favour of the abbess of Fontevraud, who naturally looked for and found a powerful advocate in her royal votaress. The subsequent one appeals too forcibly to the feelings of domestic life to need comment. They were both written between 1286 and 1291, the year of Eleanora's death. Much of the correspondence of this queen, scattered over many years, still remains in the Tower of London, of which a small portion only has been printed in

[a] Chron. Rishang. Cotton. MS. Claudius, E. III. fol. 322, col. 2. Annales Cuculenti, Cotton. MS. Nero, D. II. fol. 182; Chron. John Oxford, ibid., fol. 238, col. 1.

[b] Cott. MS. Vesp. A. II. fol. 69; Wardrobe book, 14 Edw. I., fol. 12. Miscel. roll, No. 66, Tower of London.

[c] Chron. Anon. Royal MS. 13, E. VI. fol. 64, col. 2.

[d] Chron. Lanercost., Harl. MS. 96, fol. 139 b.

the Fœdera. Her letters are principally written in Norman French, which was almost the native language of this Provençal queen.

To the most noble prince and our dearest son, Edward, by God's grace king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Guienne, Eleanora, humble nun of the order of Fontevraud of the convent of Amesbury, health and our blessing.

Sweetest son, our abbess of Fontevraud has prayed us that we would entreat the King of Sicily to guard and preserve the franchises of her house, which some people wish to damage. And, because we know well that he will do much more for your prayer than for ours, for you have better deserved it, we pray you, good son, that for love of us you will request and especially require this thing from him; and that he would command that the things which the abbess holds in his lordship may be in his protection and guard, and that neither she nor hers may be molested or grieved. Good son, if it please you, command that the billet be hastily delivered. We wish you health in the sweet Jesus, to whom we commend you.

LETTER XXI.

Eleanora Queen-Dowager of England to her Son, Edward I.

[ORIGINAL LETTER NO. 1106, TOWER OF LONDON. *French.*]

To the most noble prince and her very dear son, Edward, by God's grace king of England, lord of

Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, Eleanora, humble nun of the order of Fontevraud, of the convent of Amesbury, wishes health and her blessing.

Sweetest son, we know well how great is the desire that a mother has to see her child when she has been long away from him, and that dame Margaret de Nevile, companion of Master John Giffard, has not seen for a long time past her child, who is in the keeping of dame Margaret de Weyland, and has a great desire to see him. We pray you, sweetest son, that you will command and pray the aforesaid Margaret de Weyland, that she will suffer that the mother may have the solace of her child for some time, after her desire. Dearest son, we commend you to God. Given at Amesbury, the 4th day of March.

LETTER XXII.

Mary Daughter of Edward I., a Nun at Amesbury, to her Brother Edward II. A.D. vers. 1316.

[ROYAL LETTERS TEMP. EDWARD II., TOWER COLLECTION. *Original French.*]

*** Of the nun-princess, Mary, the accounts preserved by the chroniclers are very brief. They merely tell us that she was born on the 11th of March, 1278, and that in 1284 she took the veil in the nunnery of Amesbury, in Wiltshire, a cell to the great foreign abbey of Fontevraud. Many curious and interesting particulars respecting her are, however, to be found in the wardrobe accounts of the period. From these we gather very different ideas of conventual life in the thirteenth century from those that we are wont to form of it in the nineteenth. During the earlier years of her profession, Mary was under the gover-

nance of her grandmother, Queen Eleanora of Provence, who entered the convent in 1286, but as she advanced in years she was by no means confined within the walls of the cloister. She paid frequent visits to the courts of her father and brother; she went on pilgrimages to the most famous shrines;[a] nay, when the state of her health required it, she was even permitted to change her residence for the sake of the air. On two occasions she took upon herself a singular office for a veiled lady—she attended her step-mother Queen Margaret during her confinement of her second son Edmund of Woodstock, and afterwards accompanied the royal mother on a pilgrimage of thanksgiving. A few years afterwards she performed the same good office for her niece, Elizabeth de Burgh. In the affairs of the convent Mary took an active part; though she never aspired to the rank of prioress, she was invested with power to visit all the establishments of the same order in England, and to administer discipline, reproof, or correction, as she thought fit.[b] She closed a life of unwearied activity about the year 1333, having survived by some years the whole of her family. The following letter was written to her brother, Edward II., about the election of a prioress of Amesbury. The nuns were always anxious to secure one of their own convent as their superior, while the abbess of Fontevraud, with whom the choice rested, frequently imposed upon them a prioress from the parent abbey. Her "cousin the abbess," of whom Mary speaks, was Eleanor of Bretagne, grand-daughter of Henry III., by his daughter Beatrice, who had been educated at Amesbury, and subsequently became abbess of Fontevraud. The letter is undated, but, from its being written at Swainton, it was probably penned subsequently to 1315, when that manor became the property of the princess in exchange for that of Cosham, in Wiltshire, and before the year 1317, when Eleanor of Bretagne ceased to be abbess of Fontevraud.[c]

To the very high and noble prince, her very dear lord and brother, my lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, his sister Mary sends health and all manner of honour and reverence.

[a] Wardrobe book, 34 Edward I., Queen's Remembrancer Office.
[b] Close roll, 10 Edward II., pt. ii. m. 7, in dorse.
[c] Ibid.

Very dear sire, as a long time has passed since God did his will upon our prioress Dambert, we immediately after her death sent to our very dear cousin, the lady-abbess of Fontevraud, both on my part and on that of the convent, asking for a lady from this our convent, to wit, for the Lady Isabella, whom we understand to be well able and sufficient for the office, that she might be granted to us for our prioress. And we thought, dear sire, that she (the abbess) would have willingly granted us our request, for she is bound to do so since she was brought up and veiled amongst us, and so she should neither wish nor permit that the church should be so long without prelates; but as yet we have had no answer, only we understand from certain people that she intends to send us a prioress from beyond the sea there, and a prior by her counsel out there. And know, certainly, my very dear brother, that should she send any other than one belonging to our own convent, it would prove matter of discord in the convent, and of the destruction of the goods of the church, which I know well, sire, that you would not suffer willingly and wittingly; wherefore I pray you, dearest lord and brother, and require you, both for the love of me and of our convent, which after God trust surely in you, that you would please to send word to my said lady-abbess, that she do not undertake to burden our church with any prioress out of the convent, nor with prior other than the one we have now, but that she would

grant us her whom we have requested. Do this, most dearest brother, that our convent may receive your aid and sustenance in this case as they have always done in their needs. May Jesus Christ give you a long life, my dearest brother. Written at Swainton, in the Isle of Wight, the 9th day of May.

LETTER XXIII.

Isabella Queen-Dowager of England to her Nephew, the Earl of Hereford. A.D. vers. 1328.

[ORIGINAL GRANTS, ETC., BOX IX. NO. 342, OFFICE OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER. *Original French.*]

*** The letter now presented to the reader has in the original neither signature nor address. The contents shew it to have been from a queen-mother of England, and that it was from Isabella of France, mother of Edward III., is proved by the following circumstances of internal evidence. The handwriting is that of the early part of the fourteenth century. It is dated from Nottingham, one of her favourite residences, and, what is perhaps the most decisive point, in a small fragment of the seal a fleur-de-lis is traceable; and since that emblem of French royalty had not as yet been adopted into the English escutcheon, the arms must have been those of a princess of France. The supposition that it was addressed to John de Bohun, earl of Hereford, is grounded on the fact that he was the only nephew of Edward II. who took a prominent part in English affairs at this time. He held the high office of lord high-constable of England This conjecture is greatly strengthened by the circumstance of this letter having found its way into the office of the duchy of Lancaster, since, from the subsequent marriage of Henry of Lancaster with the heiress of the Bohuns, a large number of the original documents of that family are there preserved. The date must have been between

1327, the date of the murder of Edward II., and 1330, when a period was finally put to Isabella's active influence in England. There are only two other original letters of Queen Isabella now known to be in existence, neither of which is of particular interest.[a]

Most dear and beloved nephew,

We have well understood what you have sent us word by your letters; and, as to our estate, we give you to know that we are even in great trouble of heart, but, considering the condition we are in, we were in good health of body at the setting forth of these letters, which our Lord ever grant to you. Dearest nephew, we pray you that you will leave off all excuses, and come to the king our son in the best manner you can, and as he commands you more fully by his letters. For you well know, dearest nephew, if you come not, considering the necessity that now exists, it will be greatly talked of, and will be a great dishonour to you. Wherefore make an effort to come at this time as hastily as you can, and you know well, dearest nephew, that we shall ever be ready to counsel you as well as we can in all things that shall be to your honour and profit. Most dear and beloved nephew, our Lord have you in his keeping. Given at Nottingham, the 10th day of October.

Endorsed, "To come to the King."

[a] Unsorted letters, Tower of London. One is the original of a letter patent.

LETTER XXIV.

Philippa of Hainault, Queen of Edward III., to Sir John de Edington, her Attorney. A.D. 1354.

[MADOX COLLECTANEA, ADDIT. MS. 4500, ART. 55, FOL. 178. *French.* FROM PLACITA CORAM BARONIBUS, 28 EDW. III. ROT. 95 a.]

*** During the reign of Edward III. and his successor, Richard II., there are fewer relics of epistolary correspondence than in the periods preceding or following. Notwithstanding the brilliant part taken by Queen Philippa in the warlike achievements of her lord, and the prominent station she so long held, we have not been able to find any other specimen of her correspondence than the epistle here given. Brief as it is, however, it shews the same kindly generosity of heart which has rendered the name of Philippa of Hainault immortal as the saviour of the devoted victims of Calais. A number of writs having been issued against those who were indebted to the queen, probably for the payment of *aurum reginæ*, or queen's gold, she urges that her conscience will not allow of their being executed until she and her council have had time to examine into the ability of the delinquents to satisfy her demands. A rare instance, indeed, of queenly moderation! In a memorandum appended to this letter it is noted that it was presented before the barons on the 20th of May.

Philippa, by the grace of God queen of England, lady of Ireland, and duchess of Aquitaine, to our dear clerk Sir John de Edington, our attorney in the exchequer of our very dear lord the king, sends greeting.

We command you, that you cause all the writs which have been filed from the search lately made by Sir Richard de Cressevill to be postponed until the octaves of Easter next ensuing; to the end that, in the meantime, we and our council may be able to

be advised which of the said writs are to be put in execution for our profit, and which of them are to cease to the relief of our people, to save our conscience. And we will that this letter be your warrant therefore.

Given under our privy seal, at Westminster, the 14th day of May, in the year of the reign of our very dear lord the king of England the twenty-eighth.

LETTER XXV.

Constance, Wife of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, to the Chancellor of England.

[STATE PAPERS, TEMP. RICH. II., TOWER OF LONDON. *Original French.*]

*** The Duchess Constance was the eldest daughter of Peter the Cruel, king of Castile, upon whose decease, without issue male, she assumed the title of Queen of Castile and Leon, and her husband John of Gaunt shared her regal style, though neither of them ever possessed any real authority in their titular dominions. In the year 1386 they received from Richard II. and his queen diadems of gold, and with a large force went over to Spain to assert their claim against John I. of Castile, son and successor of Henry Trastamare. The affair ended in a twofold matrimonial engagement and in a compensatory pension of 10,000*l.* each per annum to the duke and duchess, who thenceforth dropped their regal titles. Very little is known of the private history or character of the Duchess Constance, but it would seem from the present letter that she had some regard for learning. The person to whom it was addressed is uncertain, since there were several chancellors from 1377, the date of the accession of Richard II., to 1386, when Constance went into Spain, and there relinquished the title of Queen of Castile. She died in the year 1394, and was interred in the church of St. Mary at Leicester.

From the Queen of Castile and Leon, Duchess of Lancaster.

Honoured sir,

We pray you lovingly that you will grant your letters for Friar Alvare, the bearer of these, to the prior of the friars-preachers of Oxford, that the said friar may be received there to be a student in the university of the said city, for love of me. And may our Lord ever have you, honoured sir, in his holy keeping.

Written at Hertford, the 7th day of August.

To the very honoured sir, the Chancellor.

LETTER XXVI.

Annabella Queen of Scotland to King Richard II. A. D. 1394.

[COTTON. MS. VESPASIAN, F. VII. ART. 37, FOL. 39. *Original French.*]

*** The writer of the present letter was a daughter of the noble house of Drummond, and wife of that amiable and virtuous, though incompetent monarch, Robert III, of Scotland. The leading events of his reign are only too well known. The dark, deceitful, and yet powerful character of his brother, the Duke of Albany, who governed the kingdom with an almost vice-regal authority, and the headstrong, wild, reckless, but generous and high-spirited temper of the Duke of Rothsay, the king's eldest son, which the machinations of his uncle Albany at length construed into treason, excited continual commotion. But while Queen Annabella lived, her maternal tenderness, together with her prudence and sagacity, restrained the excesses of her son,

and checked the ambitious career of Albany. Along with her true-hearted friends, the Bishop of Saint Andrew's and Archibald the Grim, earl of Douglas, she exercised a salutary influence over the too easily impressible mind of her husband, and maintained a considerable share in the government.[a] It was not till after the queen's death that the fearful tragedy was enacted which condemned the heir of the Scottish throne to the most terrible of all deaths—a death by starvation.

The following letter was written before the commencement of these domestic troubles in the year 1394, as it would seem from a commission printed in the Fœdera,[b] under that year, for several persons to go over to Scotland to treat about the marriages between the royal families of England and Scotland here alluded to. The infant James, whose birth is named by the queen, afterwards ascended the Scottish throne as James I. If the date assigned to the letter be correct, it fixes his birth at a rather later period than that usually assigned to it; since it has generally been supposed that he was in his fourteenth year when he was brought into England in 1405.

Another letter from Annabella to Richard II., dated the 28th of May previously, and written on the same subject, is preserved in the same MS.[c] In both the queen shews anxiety to preserve those amicable relationships with England which were so important to the true interests of her country.

To the most high and mighty prince Richard, by the grace of God king of England, our very dear cousin, Annabella, by the selfsame grace queen of Scotland, sends health and greeting.

[a] Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 119.

[b] Edit. 1740, vol. iii. p. 102. In this document Richard II. gives the Scottish monarch no title whatever but that of "his adversary,"—a singular appellation when we consider that, if the elucidations of recent research upon the history of Richard II. be correct, that monarch was indebted to the King of Scotland for an asylum in the latter part of his life. See Appendix to the third volume of Tytler's History of Scotland.

[c] They are both printed in the original French in Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 446, 447.

We give you hearty and entire thanks for your loving letters presented to us by our well-beloved Douglas, herald-at-arms, from which we have learned to our great pleasure and comfort your good health and estate. And, dearest cousin, as touching the marriage-treaty to be made between some nearly allied to you by blood and some children of the king my lord and of us, be pleased to know that it is agreeable to the king my said lord and to us, as he has signified to you by these letters. And in especial, that, although the said treaty could not be held on the third day of July last past for certain and reasonable causes contained in your letters sent to the king my aforesaid lord, you consented that the treaty should in like manner take place another day, namely, the first day of October next coming, which is agreeable to the king my aforesaid lord and to us; and we thank you heartily and with good will, and affectionately pray you that you will continue the said treaty, and have the said day kept, for it is the will of my said lord the king and of us that as far as in us lies the said day should be kept without fail. And, dearest cousin, we affectionately require and entreat you that your highness will not be displeased that we have not sooner written to you; for we were lying in childbed of a male infant named James, of whom we are now well and graciously delivered, thanks to God and our Lady. And also, because, at the coming of your letters, the king my said lord was far away in the isles of his kingdom,

we did not receive these letters sent to us on this matter till the last day of July last past. Most high and puissant prince, may the Holy Ghost ever keep you! Given under our signet, at the abbey of Dumfermline, the first day of August.

To the most high [and puissant prince Richard]
by God's grace [king of England].

LETTER XXVII.

Joanna of Navarre, afterwards Queen of Henry IV., to Richard II. A.D. vers. 1399.

[COTTON. MS. JULIUS, B. VI. FOL. 25. *Original French.*]

*** There are in history as well as in real life many incidents and situations, which when they transpire do not bear the impress of anything extraordinary, but which yet become so when the reflex light of events, then future, is thrown back upon them. Such is the case with the following letter. It was, at the time when it was written, a mere complimental effusion of courtesy from one potentate to another, yet it acquires a startling interest when we remember that she who dictated this bland epistle was afterwards the sharer of the throne from which the monarch to whom it was addressed was deposed, and the wife of his murderer! It was written probably but a short time before the death of Joanna's first husband, John V. duke of Bretagne, in 1399. It is more than possible that the withholding of her husband's lands, of which the duchess complains, was an act of retributive vengeance on the part of the English king for the counsel and protection which the rebel Henry Bolingbroke met with in the court of Bretagne. But this is, of course, mere matter of conjecture.

My most dear and redoubted lord,

I desire every day to be certified of your good estate, which our Lord grant that it may ever be as

good as your heart desires, and as I should wish it for myself. If it would please you to let me know of it, you would give me great rejoicings in my heart, for every time that I hear good news of you I am most perfectly glad at heart. And if to know tidings from this side would give you pleasure, when this was written my lord, I, and our children were together in good health of our persons, thanks to our Lord, who by his grace ever grant you the same. I pray you, my dearest and most redoubted lord, that it would ever please you to have the affairs of my said lord well recommended, as well in reference to the deliverance of his lands as other things, which lands in your hands are the cause why he sends his people promptly towards you. So may it please you hereupon to provide him with your gracious remedy, in such manner that he may enjoy his said lands peaceably; even as he and I have our perfect surety and trust in you more than in any other. And let me know your good pleasure, and I will accomplish it willingly and with a good heart to my power.

My dearest and most redoubted lord, I pray the Holy Spirit that he will have you in his holy keeping.

Written at Vannes, the 15th day of March.

THE DUCHESS OF BRETAGNE.

LETTER XXVIII.

Joanna Duchess of Bretagne, afterwards Queen of England, to her future Husband Henry IV. A.D. 1400.

[COTTON. MS. JULIUS, B. VI., FOL. 25. *Original French.*]

*** The following letter has been usually supposed to have been addressed to Richard II., but this supposition is contradicted by internal evidence. From Joanna's mention of herself and her children and *not* of her husband, it is evident that it was written when she was a widow, whereas her first husband survived Richard II. several weeks. The style, too, is more affectionate and less formal than that of the preceding letter. From these circumstances it seems certain that Henry IV., and not Richard II., was the English king to whom it was addressed, and that its true date was 1400—after the death of John V. of Bretagne, and before the marriage between Joanna and Henry IV. was projected.

My very dear and most honourable lord and cousin,

Since I am desirous to hear of your good estate, which our Lord grant that it may ever be as good as your noble heart knows best how to desire, and, indeed, as I would wish it for myself, I pray you, my most dear and honoured lord and cousin, that it would please you very often to let me know the certainty of it, for the very great joy and gladness of my heart; for every time that I can hear good news of you, it rejoices my heart very greatly. And if of your courtesy you would hear the same from across here, thanks to you, at the writing of these presents, I and my children were together in good

health of our persons, thanks to God, who grant you the same, as Johanna of Bavalen, who is going over to you, can tell you more fully, whom please it you to have recommended in the business on which she is going over. And if anything that I can do over here will give you pleasure, I pray you to let me know it, and I will accomplish it with a very good heart, according to my power.

My dearest and most honoured lord and cousin, I pray the Holy Spirit to have you in his holy keeping.

Written at Vannes, the 15th day of February.

THE DUCHESS OF BRETAGNE.

LETTER XXIX.

The Prioress of Rowney to King Henry IV.

A.D. 1400.

[ROYAL LETTERS TEMP. HENRY IV., TOWER COLLECTION. *Original Latin.*]

*** Rowney was a Benedictine nunnery in Hertfordshire, founded by Conan duke of Bretagne, in 1164. The names of none of its prioresses have been preserved before the year 1449, therefore nothing is known of the writer of the present letter beyond what is therein contained. In justice to the monastic sisterhoods of olden time it should be observed, that the recorded instances on which an orderly community had to appeal to secular authority against refractory members were very few; but, on the other hand, the interior of many of the convents presented strange scenes of disorder and licentiousness.[a]

[a] From the thirteenth century down to the close of the reign of Henry VI., the Tower collection contains many original letters from

To the most excellent prince and lord in Christ, lord Henry, by God's grace illustrious king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, his humble and devoted oratrice the prioress of Rowney sends the divine suffrages of prayers, with all sorts of reverence and honour.

By the tenor of these presents I certify to your royal highness that the sister Joanna Adeleshey, a nun of the order of St. Benedict, and notoriously professed in the same house, wanders and roams abroad from country to country, in a secular habit, despising her vow of obedience, to the grievous danger of her soul, and manifest scandal of her order, and pernicious example of others. May it therefore please your royal excellency of your royal clemency, hitherto ever gracious, to extend the secular arm for the capture of the said Joanna, to be chastised according to the rule of her order in a case of this kind, lest for want of due chastisement a plant given up to divine culture may thus perish. And may He who gives to all kings to reign preserve your royal majesty in prosperity. Given at Rowney, the 12th day of November, A.D. 1400.

abbesses, prioresses, and convents: but as they principally consist of petitions for permission to elect a superior, or for her confirmation when elected, they are of little interest (excepting indeed that of supplying several vacancies in the hitherto known lists of abbesses and prioresses), and are therefore omitted from the present collection.

LETTER XXX.

Christine Dunbar Countess of March to Henry IV. A.D. 1403.

[COTTON. MS. VESPASIAN, F. VII. ART. 109, FOL. 96. *Original French.*]

*** Christine Dunbar was the wife of George earl of March, one of the most influential of the Scottish nobles during the reign of Robert III. Their daughter was plighted in marriage to the young Duke of Rothsay, the heir to the Scottish crown, but through the influence of the Douglas party the contract was broken off, and the prince married the Lady Elizabeth Douglas. The wrath of the Earl of March was so aroused by this, that he wrote an indignant letter to Henry IV. of England,[a] to whom he was related on the mother's side,[b] asking for his aid and a refuge in England. A safe-conduct was accordingly sent for himself, his wife, and children, and eighty persons as their attendants.[c] The earl made several fruitless attempts to regain his position in Scotland by English interference.[d] Active in the service of Henry IV., his valour had an important influence in

[a] Cotton. MS. Vesp. F. VII. art. 18, fol. 22.

[b] The relationship is thus alluded to by the earl:—"And, excellent prince, since that I claim to be of kin to you, and it peradventure is not known on your part, I shew it to your lordship by this my letter, that if Dame Alice le Bowmont was your grandame, Dame Margery Comyn, her full sister, was my grandame on the other side, so that I am of the fourth degree of kin to you, the which in olden times was called near." He is a little out in his genealogies, however. Dame Alice le Beaumont, the daughter of John Comyn earl of Buchan, was the grandmother of Blanche of Lancaster, wife of John of Gaunt, and therefore great-grandmother of Henry IV. The king himself referred to his Scotch descent when, during one of his invasions of Scotland, the monks of Holyrood sent to request his mercy, and he observed in his favourable reply to their petition that he himself was a Comyn, and by that side half a Scot.—TYTLER'S *Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 103.

[c] Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 154 b.

[d] Nicolas' Acts of the Privy Council, vol. i. pp. 171, 172.

turning the scale in favour of that monarch at the battle of Shrewsbury, at which young Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, was slain. The death of this young nobleman, the flower of English chivalry, seems to have excited jealousy against the Scottish earl, of which the countess bitterly complains. Their poverty was occasioned by the forfeiture of their Scottish estates, a loss which was very inadequately compensated by the trifling assignments of manors and lands made them by Henry IV.[a] The earl, in a letter to the king, makes a similar complaint of want of money.[b] When a few more years of weary exile and vain attendance on the favour of a foreign prince had elapsed, the earl made the best terms he could for himself with the Douglas faction, and returned to Scotland.

My most excellent and redoubted sovereign lord,

I recommend myself to you as entirely as terrestrial creature can think or devise to the crowned king of the world,[c] humbly thanking you on my knees for the high favours and benefits that you have conferred upon me before this time, piously supplicating for your gracious continuance, and particularly for the gracious refreshment which you lately sent. May God reward you for it, since I cannot.

My most gracious lord, may it please you to know that my lord my husband[d] and I have been in such hardships and distress since we were banished from our country, that I am yet involved in heavy debt, from which without your gracious aid and succour I cannot deliver myself; and now the

[a] See for these Rymer's Fœdera, edit. 1740, vol. iv. pp. 8, 53. Privy Council Acts, vol. ii. p. 97.

[b] The letter is printed by Pinkerton vol. ii. App. p. 449.

[c] "Au roy du monde coronné."

[d] The original word is "mon *baron*."

pestilence is so violent and severe where we are, that I am very fearful lest I should die in this great debt that I have incurred. And by no intreaty that we can make can we obtain sufferance from our enemies to retire to our fortress of Colbrandspath, there to wait till the mortality has ceased. And for this cause I humbly entreat your high royal majesty that you will be pleased to have me in remembrance when you shall find leisure, and help me, that by your gracious relief I may be freed from the debt which makes me sad. Besides this, my most redoubted and gracious lord, we suffer great enmity on account of the death of Sir Henry Percy, which oftentimes is so heavy to my husband and his people, that they wish themselves dead, if they may not retire from this country, seeing that the people of the said Sir Henry Percy do nothing but hear comfortable news of you, in order then to do the malice that is in their hearts.[a] And, my most gracious and sovereign lord, touching the capture of our people by those attending on the Earl of Douglas, deign to give credence to the bearer of this, and ordain such remedy as you please, according to what the said bearer shall tell you by word of mouth. And I pray most earnestly the ever-blessed God of Heaven to grant you a long life, with all increase of

[a] The meaning of this passage is somewhat obscure. The original runs thus,—"Issint que les gens le dit Sir Henry ne facent rien fors escoutent confortables noveux de vous pour alors faire le malice qu'est ferme en leurs coers."

honour and joy, together with victory over your enemies; and after this mortal life may he grant you the kingdom of glory. Amen.

Your humble oratrice,
THE COUNTESS OF MARCH OF SCOTLAND.

To my most excellent and most redoubted lord, the king of England.

Marked in a modern hand, "Anno 5 H. 4."

LETTER XXXI.

Philippa Queen of Portugal to her Brother, Henry IV. A.D. 1405.

[COTTON. MS. VESPASIAN, F. III. ART. 93, FOL. 86. *Original French.*]

*** Philippa of Lancaster was the eldest daughter of John of Gaunt, by his first wife Blanche of Lancaster. She and her sister Elizabeth were brought up in childhood under the tutelage of the notorious Lady Catherine Swynford, so long their father's mistress, from whose legitimated offspring our Tudor sovereigns are descended. A curious old wardrobe roll of John of Gaunt, still in excellent preservation in the office of the duchy of Lancaster, gives the following particulars of their expenditure:—

For three saddles with all their apparatus gilt, bought from Robert Pykerell, sadler of London, and given to the Ladies Philippa and Elizabeth of Lancaster, and to Catherine Swynford, their mistress, 12th of November, anno 50 Edw. III. (1376)	£33	6	0
To Catherine Swynford, mistress of the Ladies Philippa and Elizabeth, for their wardrobe allowance for the term from Michaelmas, anno 50° .	83	6	8

For incidental expenses over and above that annuity, 16th February, anno 51°.	£ 16	13	4
For similar incidental expenses at Easter, anno 51°	100	0	0
To Emma, a damsel of the Lady Philippa, for her yearly wage	0	33	4

All the sums expended for the young ladies were paid to, and their receipt duly acknowledged by, their gouvernante.

In a wardrobe book of Philippa's brother, Henry earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV., for the year 1382, notice occurs of a wine-flagon which he gave to the Lady Philippa his sister on the last of March.

The marriage of Philippa with John I. king of Portugal, took place in February, 1387, and she had by him a large family of children; but notwithstanding this, her husband did not maintain his matrimonial fidelity unblemished. One of his natural sons, who espoused the heiress of Braganza, thus became ancestor of the present royal family of Portugal. Queen Philippa seems to have treated her husband's bastards with much kindness, and the marriage of the Earl of Arundel referred to in the present letter, which she expressly says was entered into in part at her instance, was with one of his daughters called Beatrix. It is probable that, when on a visit to her brother, Philippa had brought over the young lady to England, and, anxious to obtain a settlement for her, had persuaded the young Fitz-Alan to marry her. Now the Earl of Arundel had had a strong desire to be allowed the then unusual privilege of choosing his own wife; so strong, that in his minority he had promised a large sum of gold to the king for this permission. When the Portuguese lady was proposed to him, one inducement offered to win his consent was that, the marriage being wished for by the English king, he would then escape the payment of the *bonus*. Accordingly he gave a reluctant assent, and on the morrow of St. Catherine's day, November 26th, 1404, they were married at London, the king and queen gracing the wedding with their presence.[a] Not long afterwards, however, the unfortunate earl was surprised by a demand on the part of the king for the promised bribe which was to have secured for him the pleasure of a love-marriage, and he was placed in the pleasant predicament of either paying the money or acknowledging that his now wedded wife was not the choice of his heart. In this dilemma he sent an ambassador to the promoter of the marriage, Queen Philippa, which elicited from her the following epistle.

[a] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 320.

Most high and most puissant prince, my most supremely beloved brother,

I recommend myself to your high nobleness as humbly and entirely as I can or know how with all my entire heart, supremely desiring to hear and know often of your estate and health; and in special of the prosperity of your most genteel person, as good, pleasant, and joyous news as you yourself, most noble prince, could best devise, or in any manner desire, for your sovereign ease and comfort. And because I am certain that you would most willingly hear similar things from here, I signify to you that the king my sovereign lord, all my children, your own nephews,[a] who wish always to be most humbly recommended to you, and I their mother, your own sister, at the making of these presents were all well and hearty of body, thanks to our Creator, who ever maintain you in honour and prosperity according to your desire.

Most high and puissant prince, my best beloved brother, please it you to know that by Mr. John Wiltshire, knight and ambassador of our cousin the Earl of Arundel, I am here informed how a sum of gold is yet owing to you by the said earl, which he pledged himself to pay you for the license which it pleased your gracious lordship to grant and give him in his nonage, that he might marry according to his wish, and in whatever place he saw fitting

[a] "Vos *entiers* nepveux."

to his estate. And since you know well, my supremely best-loved brother, that he is now married not after his own seeking but as by your commandment, in part at my instance, I therefore supplicate you, since you are so great and noble a prince, as entirely as I know how, that it will please you to quit claim to the said sum at this my request, in order that I, who am in part the cause of his marriage, may be the cause of the acquittal of the said sum. And if there be anything in these parts which might give you pleasure, may it please you to command and certify it to me, and I will do it to my utmost power without hypocrisy. So I pray our sovereign Lord Jesu ever to give you prosperity, plesaunce, and joy, and very long to endure. Written at the palace of Lisbon, the 4th day of November.

Your entire and loyal sister,

P. DE P.

To the most high and puissant [prince my best] beloved brother the King of England.

LETTER XXXII.

Joanna Countess of Westmoreland to her Brother, Henry IV. A. D. 1406.

[COTTON MS. VESPASIAN, F. XIII. ART. 27, FOL. 32.
Original French.]

*** Joanna Beaufort was the only daughter of John of Gaunt by his wife Catherine Swynford. Notwithstanding the illegitimacy of her birth she was recognised by the Lancastrian family, even before the death of Constance of Carlisle permitted the union of her mother with John of Gaunt. In 1391, her brother Henry, afterwards Henry IV., styling her "the Lady Joanna de Beaufort," presented her with a pair of paternosters of gold and coral, and two years afterwards with a piece of white damask.[a] Her position in regard to the royal family of England is a singular one. Though a scion of the *Lancastrian* branch of the family of Edward III., she yet became the grandmother of two English kings of the *York* line, and the great-grandmother of an English queen. The husband of the Lady Joanna was Ralph Neville earl of Westmoreland, by whom she had a large family. Her eldest son, Richard Neville, was father of the celebrated Richard Neville earl of Warwick, surnamed the King-maker, and grandfather consequently of the Lady Anne of Warwick, the bride of the unfortunate Edward, the Lancastrian prince of Wales, and afterwards the wife of his murderer Richard III. of England. Catherine Neville, Joanna's eldest daughter, was married to John Mowbray duke of Norfolk, and their only child, the heiress of the immense Norfolk estates, was the little Lady Anne Mowbray, whose early betrothment to Prince Richard, the younger son of Edward IV., has afforded a fitting subject for the pen and pencil of historical romance, and becomes still more replete with interest from the tragic fate of the young bridegroom, and the early death of the infantile bride.[b] But it was through the posterity of her youngest daughter that the Lady Joanna became the immediate ancestress of the English royal family—this was Cicely Neville, who

[a] Wardrobe books of Henry earl of Derby, 14, 15 and 16, 17 Richard II., in the office of the duchy of Lancaster.

[b] The Harleian MS. 69, entitled The Book of certain Triumphs, contains an account of the jousts and feats of arms to be held at the solemnisation of the marriage between the king's "right dear son

married Richard Plantagenet duke of York, and was the mother of Edward IV. and Richard III.

The Countess Joanna died on the 13th of November, 1440, and was buried with a highly laudatory epitaph in Lincoln cathedral. The letter here given is more easy and less formal in its style than most epistles of the period. Its contents need no comment; they appeal at once to the sympathies of domestic life, and place in an amiable light the character of the writer. The original has had a piece torn out; the lost words are conjecturally supplied by the passages in crotchets.

Most high and puissant prince, and most excellent sovereign lord,

I recommend myself to your royal and high lordship in the most obedient manner which, with my whole, entire, and simple heart, I can most humbly do, as she who desires to know of you, and of your most noble estate and most perfect health, such prosperity as your royal and most honourable heart can desire. And may it please your high nobleness to understand that I write now to your royal presence in behalf of your loyal liege and esquire, Christopher Standith, who, as he has certified me, has been in your service in Wales every time you have been there against your enemies, and besides, in all your most honourable journeys since your coronation, in which he has expended the substance that he could acquire of his own and of his friends, in such wise that, whereas he and my well-

Richard duke of York, marshall of England and earl of Nottingham, and the right noble Anne Mowbray, daughter and sole heir unto the high and mighty prince, John late duke of Norfolk. The matrimonial feast whereof to be kept in his palace of Westminster the xvth day of January next."

beloved his wife Margaret (daughter to Mr. Thomas Fleming, who was chancellor and servant during his life to my most honoured and redoubted lord your father, whom God assoil) kept house and establishment, they have left it, and the said Margaret is lodged very uncomfortably with her children, of whom she has many, having one or two every year; and all this on account of the great charge which her said husband has incurred and still incurs in your service; to whom, of your gracious goodness and gentleness, you have aforetime promised guerdon of his labour, whenever he should spy out [something] from which [he could have a living] of 40 marks or of 40 pounds. And, most puissant and excellent prince and my most sovereign lord, he is the youngest [and his father has dismissed him from] his serv[ice], and that merely because he and his wife married each other for downright love, without thinking this time [what they should have to live upon. Wherefore I] entreat your most high and puissant lordship to consider that the said Margaret should dwell [in some suitable place, or else with the queen] your wife, whom God protect; and that she is come to me trusting that my [intercession] might avail her with you. May it please you to be gracious lord to her and her said husband, and of your guerdon [assist them] to support in their persons poor gentility, that their affiance may turn to good effect for them, and to my honour, if it please you, by their finding succour

from your royal and most excellent nobility, on account of this my most effectual supplication.

Most high and puissant prince and most excellent sovereign lord, I pray God to grant you a most honourable and long life, and preserve you in his most excellent keeping, and give entire joy and gladness as much as your gentle and most noble heart would choose or desire. Written at the castle of Raby.

Your most humble and obedient subject, if it please you,

J. DE W.

To the most high and puissant prince and most excellent sovereign lord the king.

Endorsed in Latin, "A letter to the Countess of Westmoreland."

Marked in two places, "7 H. 4."

LETTER XXXIII.

Catherine Daughter of John of Gaunt, Queen of Castile and Leon, to her Brother Henry IV. A.D. 1412.

[COTTON. MS. VESPASIAN, F. III. ART. 82, FOL. 75. *Original Spanish.*]

*** Catherine of Lancaster was the only child of John of Gaunt by his second wife, Constance of Castile, and, of course, the prospective inheritrix of her mother's claims to the Castilian throne. But in the year 1386 these claims were merged by the union of Catherine, then a girl thirteen years of age, with Henry prince of Asturias, afterwards Henry III. of Castile, grandson of Henry of Trastamare, her mother's bastard uncle. That Catherine herself considered her title to Castilian royalty founded on a firmer basis than the fortune which led

her to become queen-consort of Spain is proved by the singular expression she uses in her style, "Yo, *sin ventura* reyna," &c.; or, as it reads in her French letters, "Je, *sans fortune* reine," &c.; by which she decisively intimates her own opinion that she possessed an inherent right to the throne, independent of her marriage. On the death of her husband, in 1406, she became guardian of her son and governor of his realms. It was in this capacity that she wrote to her half-brother, Henry IV. Another letter of hers, written to the king the preceding April, in French, is also in existence, treating of the restitution of the goods of a Bristol vessel, which had been plundered by the Spaniards.[a] Queen Catherine was grandmother of the celebrated Isabella of Castile, wife of Ferdinand of Aragon, and consequently great-grandmother of Catherine of Aragon, the first queen of Henry VIII.

Most high and powerful Don Henry, by God's grace king of England and France, lord of Ireland, my most dear and beloved, and with all my heart, and with my entire mind, most cherished brother and lord, I, undoubted Queen of Castile and Leon, mother of the king and his guardian, and governor of his realms, send to recommend myself to your favour and benediction, and much to salute you as him, to whom I pray that God would give as much health and life with honour as you yourself desire.

Most dear and beloved brother and lord, I entreat that by all means, as continually as you can, you will certify and let me know of your health, and life, and good estate; and of the Queen your companion, my dearest and best-loved sister; and of the Prince of Wales, and the other princes your sons, my dearest and best-loved nephews; by which you will do me

[a] Cotton. MS. Vesp. C. XII., printed in Fœdera, edit. 1709, vol. viii. p. 683.

most singular pleasure and honour, and it will be a thing which will greatly please me, since it is one of the most principal things of this world at which my heart is most joyous and consoled. And since, dearest and best-loved brother and lord, I know well that you will be pleased with the same thing, I certify and let you know, that, at the time when this letter was written, the said king my son, your dearest and best-loved nephew, and I, and the infantas Donna Maria and Donna Catalina my daughters, your dearest and best-loved nieces, are well, and in good disposition of our persons; praise to God, who thus grant us to continue, and by his same grace grant it to you at all times.

Moreover, dearest and best-loved brother and lord, we give you to know that, having seen your writing which you sent me by John de Samora, your messenger,[a] and understood its contents, whereas I find there how you complain that the truce was past some days before a prolongation was fixed for another following year, according as he will make relation to you. About this, and, moreover, about the coming of your ambassadors, who should come to join themselves with those whom the king my son should send, to see and determine upon the damage and mischief which those who are injured have received of their own goods, I send to you the said John de Samora, who will speak of some things that he will have to say to you from me, and

[a] He was appointed ambassador Sept. 24th, 1411.

of others which have been already confirmed in my name, which he will tell you. Wherefore, dearest and best-beloved brother and lord, I request you that it would please you to give faith and credence to the things that he will say to you on my part in this matter. Dearest and best-loved brother and lord, may the Holy Trinity ever have you in his holy keeping! Written in the city of Valladolid, the 30th day of July.

I THE QUEEN.[a]

To the most high and powerful prince Don Henry, by God's grace king of England and France, lord of Ireland, my dearest and best-loved, and with all my heart most entirely cherished brother and lord.

Marked, "1412."

LETTER XXXIV.

Joanna de Kynnesley to King Henry IV.

[ROYAL PETITIONS, TOWER COLLECTION. *Original French.*]

To our most excellent and most redoubted lord the king.

[a] "*Yo la reyna.*" This was the usual mode of signature with Spanish monarchs, and is retained up to the present day. A similar signature of Catherine occurs in the same MS. from which the present letter is taken, art. 80, where, in her capacity of regent, she countersigns a letter of her son John II. In her French letters she signs "*Je la reine.*" For farther particulars of transactions between Henry and Catherine see Fœdera, vol. viii. p. 703; Acts of Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 24, 118.

Supplicates most humbly a poor and simple woman, Joanna de Kynnesley; that whereas John de Kynnesley, her husband, by hate and malice, was put in prison within the castle of Norwich, where he has long lain through false suggestions, that it would please your most gracious lordship, for the love of God, and for the souls of your most noble father and mother, whom God assoil, to grant and give to your said suppliant your gracious letters, sealed under your seal, made in due form, directed to the sheriff of the county of Norfolk, charging and straitly commanding him to deliver up the body of the said John out of prison, that he may go at large, to answer before your royalty, in case any one should accuse him; and she will pray God for you and for your progenitors for ever.

LETTER XXXV.

Queen Joanna, Widow of Henry IV., to her Son John Duke of Bedford. A.D. 1415.

[COTTON. MS. VESPASIAN, F. III. ART. 5, FOL. 5. *Original French.*]

*** Joanna of Navarre is the first English queen whose autograph signature is known to be in existence. This autograph has generally escaped notice, from the circumstance that, in the description of the present letter in the Cotton catalogue, it is by mistake ascribed to Henry V. Neither of the two previous letters of Joanna is signed by herself, from which we may conclude that she learned to write *after* her arrival in England. The father of Henry IV., "old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster," was a patron of literature. His

attachment to the doctrines of Wickliffe is well known; and it is a singular coincidence (if, indeed, it be not more than a mere coincidence), that it was in the family of the first Protestant prince of England that the traces of advancing education and refinement are found. His daughters seem to have been the first English ladies who knew how to write. Henry IV. was an accomplished prince, and chose that, though comparatively late in life, his wife should share his advantages.

The date of the present letter is probably 1415, at which period the Duke of Bedford was lieutenant of England, during the absence of his brother, Henry V., in France, at the celebrated campaign of Agincourt. It cannot be assigned to a later period, since, from its being dated at Langley, it must have been written before the imprisonment of the queen-dowager in Pevensey Castle on an accusation of sorcery, which took place in 1418; and the Duke of Bedford was not lieutenant of England in the intermediate period. One of the Cottonian MSS.[a] contains an inspeximus of a charter of Queen Joanna, dated Langley, January 20th, in the third year of Henry VI., by which, under the style of "Joanna, queen of England and France, and lady of Ireland," she grants to her cousin, Edmund Beaufort earl of Martaigne, the office of constable of her castle of Nottingham, and the custody of her forest of Sherwood, with 20*l.* to be received each year from her treasurer and receiver-general for the time being. Beaufort afterwards granted the office to Ralph Cromwell."[b]

High and puissant prince, our dearest and best-beloved son,

We thank you entirely, because we know well that you desire to know of our good estate. So be it known unto you, dearest son, that at the making of these presents we were in good condition of our person, God be thanked, who ever grant you the same; and be good enough to certify us by all

[a] Vespasian, F. XIII. art. 72, fol. 62.

[b] This name is misprinted *Richard* in the Cotton catalogue.

messengers of your health, of which we are equally desirous to know, for our consolation and joy, always when we can know good news of you.

Our dearest and most beloved son, the very singular desire that we have for the accomplishment of the matter contained in the supplication herein enclosed, touching the fee of our dear and good friend John Faringdon, our attorney-general, on account of his own commendable deserts, causes us at present to write to you, praying you, with most entire heart, that, having understood the tenor of the said supplication, you will therein grant him your good and gracious service for love of us, that, according to the effect and purport of this, he may be paid his said fee; that thus this our hearty prayer may take full effect in accomplishment of our desire in this matter, according to the entire confidence that we have in you.

And if there be anything on our part that we can do to your pleasure, be pleased to signify it, and we will accomplish it with very good heart, according to our power. Our Lord give you in honour and perfect health a very good life, and as long as you desire. Written at our manor of Langley, the 10th day of November.

JOANNA.

To the high and puissant prince, our dearest and most beloved son, the Duke of Bedford, lieutenant of England.

Marked, "H. 5."

LETTER XXXVI.

Constance Lady Husee to King Henry VI. A.D. 1441.

[COTTON. MS. VESPASIAN, F. XIII. ART. 50, FOL. 47. *Original.*]

*** The letter now laid before the reader is the earliest specimen of an *English* epistle, written by a lady, which has fallen under the editor's notice.[a] Of Sir Henry Husee, the husband of Lady Husee, we find that, in the 8th of Henry VI., 1430, he had free warren granted of the manor of Herting, in Sussex, as the cousin and heir of Matthew Husee;[b] and that he died in 1450, but without any recorded landed possessions.[c] The R. H. prefixed to the letter is the original signature in the handwriting of Henry VI., who expressed thereby his intention of granting the petition it contained.

R. H.

To the king our sovereign lord,

Beseecheth meekly your humble and continual oratrice Dame Constance, the wife of Henry Husee, knight, the which was menial servant with the most worthy and Christian king your father, whose soul God assoil, and continued in his service as well beyond the sea as on this side the sea all the times of his noble reign, without any fee or reward; that whereas your said oratrice continued in the service of the noble princess your grandame, whose soul God assoil, as well in the time of your full noble

[a] In the Tower collection are several English letters written towards the close of the reign of Henry VI.; but they are of no particular interest, and are from females of inferior station.

[b] Calend. Rot. pat. p. 276.

[c] Calend. Inquis. post mortem, vol. iv. p. 245.

father and *ayeul* (grandfather) as in yours, unto the time of his dying, in recompense of which service it liked the queen your said grandame, of her grace special, for the term of her life, to grant by her gracious letters patent unto your said oratrice 20*l.* yearly, to be taken of the issues and profits of the manor of Kingsthorp, in the county of North-[ampton]; and also in likewise 100*s.* yearly, to be taken of the issues and profits of the manor of Odiham, in the county of South[ampton], as in the said letters patent openly appeareth; that it please you of your especial grace tenderly to consider the long service of the said Sir Henry and Dame Constance, that they never had other fee nor reward than the said 25*l.*, the which is now ceased by the death of your said grandame, and thereupon to grant unto your said oratrice, by your several letters patents, the said 25*l.* in like form as she had it, term of her life, yearly to be taken of the issues and profits of the manors abovesaid. And your said oratrice shall pray God continually for you.

Beneath is written,—

"The Chamberlain of England.

My lord hath granted this bill; notwithstanding that it was signed with his own hand, yet he commanded me to endorse it."

A note in French, also below:—

"This letter was drawn out at Westminster the 22d day of May, the year, &c. 19."

LETTER XXXVII.

Elizabeth Countess of Oxford to Sir John Paston.

[PASTON LETTERS, DOUCE MS. NO. 393, FOL. 82. BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD. *Original.*]

*** The following is one of the earliest *English* letters of an English peeress, not of the blood royal, of which the original is in existence.[a] It belongs to the series of the letters of the Paston family, some few of which, having fallen into other hands, remained unpublished when Fenn presented one of the most valuable contributions ever made to English historical literature, in the publication of the celebrated Paston Letters. The writer was the daughter of Sir John Howard, knight, and heiress in her own right of the barony of Plaitz. In 1426 she contracted a stolen love-match with John de Vere, twelfth earl of Oxford, who had to suffer a long imprisonment, and pay a fine of 2000*l.* for his imprudence. In common with all his family he was a violent Lancastrian, and was beheaded for his adherence to the cause of the red rose on the accession of Edward IV.

The letter was written in the reign of Henry VI. Though original, the signature is not autograph; the successor of this lady being the first Countess of Oxford, who could write her own name. She was, however, a patroness of literature; for, in 1477, she presented to the nunnery of Barking a beautifully written French MS., containing the lamentations of St. Bernard, the meditations of St. Augustine, and the life of St. Louis of France. This MS. is now in the library of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford.

Right entirely well-beloved,

I greet you well, thanking you of the great gentleness that you have shewed unto my right well-

[a] Probably the earliest letter is one from Maud countess of Gloucester, A. D. 1268, in the Tower collection. It is in old French, but merely on matters of business.

beloved James Arblast, praying you of continuance; and if there be any thing that I may do for you, or any of yours, here or in any other place, I pray you let me wit, and I shall be ready to do it, with the grace of God, who have you in his keeping; and I pray you to be friendly unto my right well-beloved Agnes Arblast, which is to me great pleasure and heart's ease, an you so be. Written at Nevenhow, the 13th day of April.

OXFORD,
ELIZABETH.

To my right entirely well-beloved John Paston, of Norwich, Esquire.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI., to the Citizens of London. A. D. 1461.

[HARL. MS. NO. 543, FOL. 147.]

*** The following letter, or manifesto, needs little comment; it is one of the few productions of the high-spirited Margaret of Anjou now in existence. It was penned early in 1461; when, after the battle of Wakefield, which cost the Duke of York his life, the queen advanced towards London to secure the capital. It was addressed to the citizens of London, where the king was then residing, and its object was to secure, by fair promises, their favourable reception of herself and her troops, which were composed of an odd medley of English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh, into the city. The eloquence of the queen proved unsuccessful, however. The Londoners, fearing the presence of such tumultuous guests, chose to reinforce the army of the Earl of Warwick, and throw their powerful influence into the scale of

the Yorkists. Their determined enmity kept the queen at bay till the Earl of March (afterwards Edward IV.) joined his troops to those of the Earl of Warwick, and rendered her entrance into London impossible. The unfortunate Queen Margaret was destined never again to enter the capital of that kingdom which she had long ruled with so despotic a sway.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you heartily well.

And whereas the late Duke of N. [York] of extreme malice, long hid under colours, imagined by divers and many ways and means the destruction of my lord's good grace, whom God of his mercy ever preserve, hath now late, upon an untrue pretence, feigned a title to my lord's crown, and royal estate, and pre-eminence, contrary to his allegiance and divers solemn oaths of his own offer made, uncompelled or constrained, and fully proposed to have deposed him of his regality, *ne had been* (had it not been for) the *sad* (firm), unchangeable and true dispositions of you and others, his true liegemen, for the which your worshipful dispositions we thank you as heartily as we can. And howbeit, that the same untrue, unsad, and unadvised person, of very pure malice, disposed to continue in his cruelness, to the utterest undoing, if he might, of us, and of my lord's son and ours the prince, which, with God's mercy, he shall not be of power to perform, by the help of you and all other my lord's faithful disposed subjects, hath thrown among you, as we be certainly informed, divers untrue and

feigned matters and surmises; and in especial, that we and my lord's said son and ours should newly draw toward you with an unseen power of strangers, disposed to rob and to despoil you of your goods and *havings* (property); we will that you know for certain that, at such time as we or our said son shall be disposed to see my lord, as our duty is and so binds us to do, you, nor none of you, shall be robbed, despoiled, nor wronged by any person that at that time we or our said son shall be accompanied with, or any other sent in our or his name, praying you, in our most hearty and desirous wise, that [above] all earthly things you will diligently *intend* (attend) to the surety of my lord's royal person in the mean time; so that through malice of his said enemy he be no more troubled, vexed, nor jeoparded. And, so doing, we shall be unto you such lady as of reason you shall be largely content. Given under our signet, &c.

A wardrobe book of Queen Margaret of Anjou, in a perfect state of preservation, which has hitherto escaped the notice of any biographer of this queen, is in the office of the duchy of Lancaster. It is presumed that a few extracts from it, although irrelevant to the subject of the foregoing letter, will not be considered out of place. The period to which it extends is from September 1452 to the same date in 1453. Its contents fully bear out the well-known character of the queen for untiring energy and industry in public affairs, and also prove that she exercised a diligent surveillance over her own private affairs. To John viscount Beaumont, chief seneschal of all her manors and lands, she paid annually 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; to Lawrence Booth, her chancellor, 53*l.*; to William Cotton, her receiver-general, 70*l.* 10*s.* Robert Tanfield, her attorney pursuing all her pleas, her

two bailiffs, and many other attorneys, attorneys' clerks, and legal officers, received similar stipends. She gave 33*s.* 4*d.* to John Flogge, viscount of Kent, "as a certain bonus, by the advice of the council of the queen, for the payment of 22*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, *auri reginæ* (queen's gold), raised by him from goods and chattels this year." That is to say, he had distrained upon those unfortunate persons who were not otherwise able to satisfy the claims of the queen, and was thus rewarded for his zeal. The large sums expended by Margaret in the purchase of paper, wax, account-books, bags for money, legal advice, &c., both for her accounts and those of the chancery, shew how much of the state business passed through the hands of the queen. Her indefatigable attention to public affairs farther appears by the following entries:—"To Thomas Scales, for his diligent *daily* attendance in our council, 10*l.*" "To our dearest cousin, Edmund duke of Somerset, for his good and laudable counsel in urgent business, an annuity of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*" This was the well-known favourite, but unpopular councillor, of the queen.

Margaret's own household was formed on an extensive scale. John Wenloch, the knight of her chamber, received 40*l.* for his yearly wages; and the two knights of the board 40 marks each. Ismania lady of Scales, Isabella lady Grey, Lady Margaret Ross, Lady Isabella Dacre, and Lady Isabella Butler, are mentioned as being in immediate attendance upon her person, besides ten "little damsels," and two chamberwomen. She had her grooms and pages of the robes, beds, bakery, saddlery, kitchen, larder, scullery, water-house, laundry, poultry, pantry, and almonry, nine of each for her chamber. Her *herbman*, or gardener, received 100*s.* a-year; her valet of the washing-house (called *scalding*-house), 40*s.*; her twenty-seven armour-bearers, or esquires, 143*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* in all; and her twenty-seven valets, 93*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* Her private-business agents were the clerk of the closet, or private secretary; clerk of the signet; and clerk of the jewels. For the maintenance of the whole of this establishment she paid 7*l.* per day to the treasurer of the king's household. The sums spent by the queen in personal adornment were trifling. The only entries that occur in the whole year's accounts are for 73*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* to a Venetian merchant, for silk and cloth of gold for the queen; and 125*l.* 10*s.* to a goldsmith of London, for jewels and goldsmith's work done for her. On the other hand her charities were large, and seem to have been bestowed with equal kindness and judiciousness. She gave 200*l.* to one of her damsels as a marriage portion; a larger sum, it will be observed, than she had spent on her own wardrobe

during the year. To three esquires of her household who had suffered from heavy infirmity by Divine visitation she gave 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to two men of Newmarket, whose stable had been burnt whilst the queen was there. Her daily offering was 4*d.*, excepting on such days as were celebrated as festivals in the church. Among these solemn days she classed the anniversaries of Henry V. and Catherine of France, the father and mother of the king. Her tenderness for her husband was shewn by the attempts she made to procure for him such diversions as were most likely to be of use to one of his peculiar temperament. 25*l.* 9*s.* were paid to Richard Bulstrode "for wages and rewards to divers tailors and painters, for divers parcels and stuffs bought by the queen's special command, for a disguising made before the said king and queen at the manor of Pleasaunce, at the feast of Christmas 31°." This manor of Pleasaunce was at Greenwich, and its great and little gardens are several times mentioned. Among the miscellaneous entries are payments for cloth of Rennes, and other things, for the baptismal font of the prince, and for the queen's offerings whilst she kept her chamber, and upon the ceremony of her purification; and also for glazing a window in the chapel of St. Mary de le Pewe[a] with two images of the king and queen kneeling and saluting the Virgin Mary, embellished with the arms of the king and the queen flourished with flowers, and with the queen's *word* over against it. Margaret's emblem-flower was the daisy; but the chroniclers have failed to record her motto, and the tantalising allusion to it here serves only to awaken, without gratifying, curiosity. These are among the principal particulars in a document deserving more than the passing notice that can here be bestowed upon it.

[a] Our Lady of the Pewe is our Lady of Pity, an appellation given to an image of the Virgin sitting with the body of our Saviour extended across her lap. One of these images was in St. Stephen's College at Westminster, and is possibly the one here referred to. See Index to Sir Harris Nicolas' Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII. *sub voce* Pewe.

LETTER XXXIX.

Anne Countess of Warwick to the House of Commons. A.D. 1471.

[COTTON MS. JULIUS B. XII. FOL. 317.]

*** Anne countess of Warwick occupies an illustrious position amongst the female nobility of England. She was the daughter, and ultimately the heiress of Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick,[a] and transferred this earldom to her husband, Richard Neville earl of Montague and Salisbury, who became in her right the Earl of Warwick, so well known in the history of the wars of the roses as the King-maker. Her only children were two daughters; who both became the wives of princes of the blood royal of England. Isabel the elder married George duke of Clarence, whose tragical murder by drowning in a butt of malmsey wine, at the command of his own brother, Edward IV., is well known. He transmitted his evil destiny, along with the royal blood that gave rise to it, to his two children, Edward earl of Warwick, who was beheaded for his connexion with Perkin Warbeck's plot in 1499, and Margaret, the celebrated countess of Salisbury, who suffered a similar fate in 1541. The younger daughter of the Countess of Warwick was Anne, first the wife of the Lancastrian Prince of Wales, Edward son of Henry VI., and then of Richard duke of Gloucester. She was ultimately raised to the perilous dignity of queen-consort of England during the short and troubled reign of Richard III.

The circumstances under which the present petition was penned were as follows:—When, in 1471, a bright but transient gleam of sunshine gilded the sinking fortunes of the Lancastrian party, the Countess of Warwick, with Margaret of Anjou and the Lady Anne of Warwick, the new-made bride of Prince Edward, set sail for England; but scarcely a week had elapsed after their landing when the battle of Barnet put a period to their hopes. The unfortunate ladies fled for

[a] She was born at Caversham in Oxfordshire, on July 13, 1429, and became heiress of Warwick in 1449, on the death of her niece Anne, the only child of her deceased brother Edward. — DUGDALE'S *Baronage*, vol. i. p. 248.

sanctuary to the convent of Beaulieu in Hampshire, which was endowed with ample privileges: but, though Edward IV. did not venture to violate its sanctity by seizing the person of the countess, he set a strict guard over her, and thus transformed her asylum into a prison. Her immense possessions, as the rightful heiress of the vast estates of Beauchamp and Spencer, excited the avarice of her two sons-in-law, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and though in 1473 she ventured to withdraw from her sanctuary at Beaulieu, she was never restored to her inheritance; but it was divided between her daughters, with no more consideration of her rights than if she were dead.[a] In the third year of Henry VII., however, a new Act of Parliament revoked this decree, as being "against all reason, conscience, and course of nature, and contrary to the laws of God and man," and, in consideration of her allegiance to the cause of Henry VI., restored all her possessions.[b] But this act of seeming justice was nullified by an arrangement between herself and the king, which had, doubtless, been privately made beforehand; according to which, on the 13th of December the same year, 1487, she alienated the whole of her estates to the king and his heirs male for ever. No fewer than one hundred and eighteen manors and hundreds are recapitulated in the original deed of assignment.[c] Two years after this princely donation, King Henry *generously* allowed the aged countess the revenues of a *single* manor, that of Sutton in Warwickshire, for her support. She lived henceforth in such obscurity that the very date of her death is not known, except that it took place before Michaelmas 1493.[d]

To the right worshipful and discreet Commons of this present Parliament.

Sheweth unto your wisdoms and discretions the king's true liege woman, Anne countess of War-

[a] Parliamentary rolls, 14 Edward IV. vol. vi. p. 100.

[b] Ibid, 3 Henry VII. vol. vi. p. 391 b.

[c] In the Chapter-house, Westminster; amongst the records of 3 Henry VII.

[d] In that term the king paid 66*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* to the creditors of Anne, *late* countess of Warwick. *Brevia sub magno et privato sigillo. 1 Hen. VII. to 14 Hen. VIII. fol.* 43, *Rolls-house.*

wick, which never offended his most redoubted highness; for she, immediately after the death of her lord and husband—on whose soul God have mercy—for none offence by her done, but dreading only trouble, being that time within this realm, entered into the sanctuary of Beaulieu for surety of her person, to dispose for the weal and health of the soul of her said lord and husband, as right and conscience required her so to do; making within five days, or near thereabouts, after her entry into the said sanctuary, her labours, suits, and means to the king's highness for her safeguard, to be had as diligently and effectually as her power would extend. She not ceasing, but after her power continuing in such labours, suits, and means, insomuch that, in absence of clerks, she hath written letters in that behalf to the king's highness with her own hand, and not only making such labours, suits, and means to the king's highness, soothly also to the queen's good grace, to my right redoubted lady the king's mother, to my lady the king's eldest daughter, to my lords the king's brethren, to my ladies the king's sisters, to my lady of Bedford, mother to the queen, and to other ladies noble of this realm; in which labours, suits, and means, she hath continued hitherto, and so will continue, as she owes to do, till it may please the king, of his most good and noble grace, to have consideration that, during the life of her said lord and husband, she was covert baron, which point she remits to your great wis-

doms, and that after his decease, all the time of her being in the said sanctuary, she hath duly kept her fidelity and liegeance, and obeyed the king's commandments. Howbeit, it hath pleased the king's highness, by some sinister information to his said highness made, to direct his most dread letters to the abbot of the monastery of Beaulieu, with right sharp commandment that such persons as his highness sent to the said monastery should have guard and strait keeping of her person, which was and is to her great heart's grievance, she specially fearing that the privileges and liberties of the church, by such keeping of her person, might be interrupted and violated, where the privileges of the said sanctuary were never so largely attempted unto this time, as is said; yet the said Anne and Countess, under protestations by her made, hath suffered strait keeping of her person and yet doth, that her fidelity and liegeance to the king's highness the better might be understood, hoping she might the rather have had largess to make suits to the king's highness in her own person for her livelihood and rightful inheritance, which livelihood and inheritance, with all revenues and profits[a] thereto pertaining, with her jointure also, and dower of the earldom of Salisbury, fully and wholly hath been restrained from her, from the time of the death of her said lord and husband unto this day. And forasmuch as our sovereign lord the king of his great grace hath set

[a] *Proventus* in original.

and assembled his high court of Parliament for reformations, right, and equity to all his subjects and liege people duly to be ministered, the said Anne and Countess humbly beseecheth your great wisdom to ponder and weigh in your consciences her right and true title of her inheritance, as the earldom of Warwick and Spencer's lands, to which she is rightfully born by lineal succession, and also her jointure and dower of the earldom of Salisbury aforesaid. And to shew her your benevolence, that by the king's good grace and authority of this his noble Parliament she may to her foresaid livelihood and rightful inheritance duly be restored and it enjoy, as the laws of Almighty God and of this noble realm, right, also, and conscience doth require; beseeching heartily your great goodnesses, in the reverence of Almighty God and of his most blessed mother, will of grace to consider the poor estate she stands in, how in her own person she may not solicit the premises as she would, an she might, nor is of power any sufficient solicitor in this behalf to make; and though she might, as (she) may not, there is none that dare take it upon him; to have also this poor bill in your tender remembrance, that your perfect charity and good will may solicit the effect of the same, which to do, her power at this time may not extend. And shall pray and do pray to God for you.

LETTER XL.

Cecilia Duchess of York, Mother of King Edward IV., to the Mayor of Windsor.

[HARL. MS. NO. 787, FOL. 2.]

*** Cecilia, or, as she is sometimes called, Cicely, or Cecil, the mother of two English sovereigns, was the daughter of Ralph Neville earl of Westmoreland, and of his countess Joanna, daughter of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, of whom mention has already been made; so that the mother of Edward IV. and Richard III. was also the great-granddaughter of Edward III. She had a numerous family, most of whom she survived, since her own death did not take place till May 31, 1495, the tenth year of King Henry VII. She died at the castle of Berkhampstead, and was interred by the side of her husband at Fotheringhay. In her last will she bequeathed to her daughter Anne, duchess of Exeter, her largest bed of baudekyn,[a] with a counterpane of the same. To her daughter Catherine, a traverse of blue satin. To her daughter Elizabeth, duchess of Suffolk, her carriage-chair, and all the cushions, horses, and harnesses for the same, with all her palfreys. To her son-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, a canopy or cloth of estate. To her son Humphrey, two altar-cloths of blue damask. To her son William, a traverse of white sarsenet. And to her daughter Anne, prioress of Syon nunnery, a book of Bonaventure.[b] Her seal, bearing on the dexter half quarterly England and France, the arms royal of England, and on the sinister half, gules a saltier argent, is engraved by Sandford.[c]

The date of the following letters cannot be farther ascertained than that they were written during the reign of Edward IV. The first strongly manifests the high spirit with which the duchess asserted the claims of her deceased husband to the throne. In all but the name, the style is that of a queen-consort of England.

[a] A sort of rich silk, said to be originally imported from Babylon.

[b] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 161; Sandford's Genealogical History, p. 387.

[c] Genealogical History, p. 374.

By the rightful inheritor's wife of the realm of England and of France, and lordship of Ireland, the king's mother, Duchess of York.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as our beloved servant Richard Foster hath had the occupation of your steward, and done you good service in the same, and desireth to do in time coming, albeit he hath been hindered and put from the said office, we, desiring his promotion and furtherance, pray you that you will have the said Richard preferred unto your said office of your steward, and the rather at the contemplation of this our especial writing, wherein you shall do unto us right especial pleasure, and shall cause us to shew you the favour of our good ladyship therefor, in such things as we may do for you in time coming. Given under our signet, at the Priory of Merton, the 23d day of November.

LETTER XLI.

Cecilia Duchess of York, Mother of Edward IV., to Dean William Wolflete.

[HISTORICAL MS. VOL. I. NO. 34. IN THE PRIVATE COLLECTION OF DAWSON TURNER, ESQ. *Original.*]

The king's mother, Duchess of York.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as it is come unto our know-

ledge that our livelihood within the counties of Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Hertford, is not duly surveyed nor approved to our behalf as it ought to be; we, putting our trust in you in that behalf, considering you be our surveyor and great officer in that country, charge you therefore right straightly, as you will have our good ladyship, to put you in faithful and true *devoir* to see it amended. And that you fail not herèof as you will avoid the awful peril that may ensue with our great displeasure and heavy ladyship. Given under our signet in our place at Baynard's Castle, in London, the 19th day of August.

CICELY.

To our right trusty and well-beloved master William Wolflete, dean of our college of Stoke, and surveyor of our lands within the counties of Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Hertford.

LETTER XLII.

Joanna Conway to Cecilia Duchess of York.

[ROYAL LETTERS OF UNCERTAIN DATE. TOWER COLLECTION. *Original.*]

*** That the following letter was addressed to the mother of Edward IV. seems certain, from the fact that she was the only Duchess of York of the period who possessed any political influence. It must have been written after the accession of her son to the throne, since it found its way into the archives of Chancery. The Lord Aberga-

gavenny complained of was Edward Neville, sixth son of Ralph earl of Westmoreland, who assumed the title on account of his marriage with the heiress of that barony. As he had been in favour with the Lancastrian kings, his quarrel with the petitioner probably originated in political persecution.

To the most gracious and excellent princess the Duchess of York.

Most piteously, and with incessant lamentation, complaineth unto your most gracious ladyship your continual and poor beadwoman Joanna Conway; forasmuch as she hath been long in the *miserous* prison of Ludgate, at the suit of the right noble lord the Lord of Abergavenny, to her confusion and mortal destruction for ever, without your most *mercyable* grace be benignly to her enlarged in that behalf. Wherefore pleaseth it your most excellent gracious ladyship the premises tenderly to consider, and for the relief of your said beseecher to send of your most abundant grace to the said Lord of Abergavenny, and to will and desire him to release and withdraw all such suits as he hath willed to be done against your said beseecher, as conscience and law of God requireth. And your said beadwoman shall incessantly pray to God of his *influent* grace for to preserve your most benign and gracious estate, and to send your most royal estate many prosperous days.

LETTER XLIII.

Elizabeth Sister of King Edward IV. to John Paston.

[PASTON LETTERS, VOL. II. APPENDIX, P. 293. *From the Original Holograph.*]

*** The following letter is the earliest *holograph* of any royal lady of England of which we have any record. It was probably written after the accession of Edward IV., on the occasion of a visit paid by Elizabeth to her brother's court.

This princess was daughter of Richard duke of York, and wife of John de la Pole duke of Suffolk, son of the unfortunate Duke of Suffolk who fell a victim to popular hatred in the reign of Henry VI., and grandson of the celebrated Geoffry Chaucer, the patriarch of English poetry. She was in such favour with her brother King Richard III., that after the death of his own son he declared her eldest son, John earl of Lincoln, heir to the throne of England; passing over alike the daughters of Edward IV. and his own brothers and elder sisters. But the evil destiny which blighted the royal stem of the white rose during the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII. soon overtook her family. Her son Earl John was slain in 1487, in the battle of Stoke, by which he hoped to have placed the crown on the head of his cousin Edward Plantagenet, the nearest male heir to the crown. Elizabeth's second son, Edmund, fell a victim to the jealous policy of Henry VIII. in 1513; and her youngest son, Richard, left his country, and, joining the troops of France, was slain at the battle of Pavia.[a]

Master Paston,

I pray you that it may please you to leave your lodging for three or four days, till I may be purveyed of another, and I shall do as much to your

[a] Sandford's Genealogical History, p. 400; Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 191.

pleasure. For God's sake say me not nay; and I pray you recommend me to my lord-chamberlain.

Your friend,

ELIZABETH.

Unto John Paston, in haste.

Endorsed in Latin, in the hand-writing of Sir John Paston, "Letter of the Duchess of Suffolk."

Several kindly notices of the Princess Elizabeth occur in the privy-purse expenses of her niece, Queen Elizabeth of York.

May 1502.—Item. To John Williams, Thomas Nelmes, Hugh Dolbyn, Edward Davy, and John Fitzwilliams, to every of them 3*s.* 4*d.*, in reward for giving attendance at the house of the Duchess of Suffolk, at Stepney.

January 1503.—Item. For a pair of buskins for the Duchess of Suffolk, 4*s.*

Item. To William Gentilman, page of the queen's chamber, for carrying of two bucks from Windsor to London, the 24th day of the said month, one to the Duchess of Suffolk, &c., 5*s.* 4*d.*

LETTER XLIV.

Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV., to Sir William Stoner.

[ROYAL LETTERS TEMP. EDWARD IV. TOWER OF LONDON. *Original.*]

*** Of Elizabeth Woodville, the beautiful queen of Edward IV., only two autographs are known to be in existence, both of which are among the state records in the Tower of London—one affixed to the present letter, the other to a letter-patent addressed to her husband Edward IV., on behalf of one Henry Grey and Alice his wife, tenants of hers, who being in danger of being impleaded in the king's court, the queen refers the matter to the decision of that court; with a cautious reserve, however, that, if a similar case should again occur, she should enjoy the rights of her own jurisdiction.

The present letter bears no date, but it is proved to be Elizabeth

Woodville's by a comparison of its signature with that already mentioned. Both epistles evince that a pertinacious clinging to her queenly rights, real or imaginary, was a prominent trait in her character. Sir William Stoner, to whom it is addressed, filled the office of constable of Wallingford castle and other royal demesnes.[a]

By the Queen.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we understand, by report made unto us at this time, that you have taken upon you now of late to make masteries[b] within our forest and chace of Barnwood and Excill, and there, in contempt of us, uncourteously to hunt and slay our deer within the same, to our great marvel and displeasure; we will you wit that we intend to sue such remedy therein as shall accord with my lord's laws. And whereas we farthermore understand that you purpose, under colour of my lord's commission, in that behalf granted unto you as you say, hastily to take the view and rule of our game of deer within our said forest and chase; we will that you shew unto us or our council your said commission, if any such you have, and, in the mean season, that you spare of hunting within our said forest or chace, as you will answer at your peril. Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the first day of August.

ELIZABETH.

To our trusty and well-beloved Sir
William Stoner, Knight.

[a] Patent roll, 4 Henry VII. memb. 4.

[b] *Maistries* in the original.

LETTER XLV.

Margaret Countess of Oxford to John Paston, A.D. 1486.

[PASTON LETTERS, VOL. II. P. 340. *From the Original.*]

*** The letter that now presents itself affords one out of many striking pictures of the rancour and bitterness which infused itself even into the gentle heart of woman during the civil strifes of the fifteenth century. Yet few women had suffered more severely in these contests than its writer. Her husband, John de Vere earl of Oxford, was a zealous Lancastrian, and by his valorous exertions at the battle of Barnet had almost turned the fortunes of that eventful day. After having sustained many perils and wanderings, he was at length taken prisoner by the servants of Edward IV., and closely confined in the castle of Hams in Picardy. Margaret was equally obnoxious to the York party, both as being the wife of the Earl of Oxford and the sister of Richard earl of Warwick, the King-maker, and, though descended from a race whose blood had often blended with that of English royalty, she was reduced to the necessity of working with her needle to obtain a livelihood for herself, till at length Edward IV. granted her the munificent sum of 100*l.* per annum to save her from actual starvation.[a] To add to her sufferings, her only child John died in the Tower during his father's exile. The Earl of Oxford contrived, however, to make his escape from captivity. He joined the party of Henry of Richmond, and, by his extraordinary personal valour, greatly contributed to the victory of Bosworth Field, which again placed a Lancastrian on the throne, and made this brave and faithful adherent one of the principal nobles of England. Margaret shared his exultation and his thirst for vengeance, too, as her letter proves. The Lord Lovell, against whom it is directed, had at first taken sanctuary at St. John's of Colchester; whence he privately withdrew, and, in spite of the vigilance of Margaret and her partisans, he escaped into Burgundy. Still faithful to the cause of the white rose, he joined the insurrection of Lambert Simnell, and was slain at the battle of Stoke. In the Bodleian library is a letter from the husband of Margaret to

[a] This grant was confirmed by Richard III. Patent roll, 3 R. III. fol. 5.

John Paston, about the capture of some of the adherents of Lord Lovell.[a]

A subsequent letter of the countess in favour of one of her old servants is also in the Paston Letters.[b]

Right trusty and well-beloved,

I recommend me unto you; and forasmuch as I am credibly informed that Francis, late lord Lovell, is now of late resorted into the Isle of Ely, to the intent, by all likelihood, to find the ways and means to get him shipping and passage in your coasts, or else to resort again to sanctuary, if he can or may:

I therefore heartily desire and pray you, and, nevertheless, in the king's name straitly charge you, that you in all goodly haste endeavour yourself, that such watch or other means be used and had in the ports and creeks, and other places where you think necessary by your discretion, to the letting of his said purpose; and that you also use all the ways you can or may by your wisdom to the taking of the same late Lord Lovell; and what pleasure you may do to the king's grace in this matter, I am sure is not to you unknown. And God keep you.

Written at Lavenham,[c] the 19th day of May.

MARGARET OXFORD.

To my right trusty and well-beloved
John Paston, sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk.

[a] Douce MS. 393, fol. 73. [b] Vol. v. p. 409. [c] Co. Suffolk.

LETTER XLVI.

Elizabeth of York, Queen of Henry VII., to Queen Isabella of Castile. A.D. 1497.

[EGERTON MS. 616, FOL. 7. *Original Latin.*]

*** The autographs of Elizabeth of York are but few in number. The editor is not aware of any letter of hers now remaining, excepting the one here given and another in the same volume of the Egerton MSS. fol. 9, of a similar character, addressed to Ferdinand king of Aragon, dated August 1, 1498.[a] It will be observed, that the celebrated Isabella of Castile is here called Elizabeth, those two names being indiscriminately adopted a few centuries ago.

To the most serene and potent princess the Lady Elizabeth, by God's grace queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, &c., our cousin and dearest relation, Elizabeth, by the same grace queen of England and France, and lady of Ireland, wishes health and the most prosperous increase of her desires.

Although we before entertained singular love and regard to your highness above all other queens in

[a] When Sir Harris Nicolas wrote his valuable memoir of Elizabeth of York, prefixed to her privy-purse expenses, he observed it as a singular fact, that not a single letter of hers was known to be in existence. The present document was then slumbering amongst the Spanish archives, whence it was brought over to England in 1836, by Don Paseval de Gayangos. Fenn has printed a letter from her in the Paston Letters, vol. v. p. 333, about the award of a manor to Simon Bryant.

the world, as well for the consanguinity and necessary intercourse which mutually take place between us, as also for the eminent dignity and virtue by which your said majesty so shines and excels that your most celebrated name is noised abroad and diffused every where; yet much more has this our love increased and accumulated by the accession of the most noble affinity which has recently been celebrated between the most illustrious Lord Arthur prince of Wales, our eldest son, and the most illustrious princess the Lady Catherine, the infanta, your daughter. Hence it is that, amongst our other cares and cogitations, first and foremost we wish and desire from our heart that we may often and speedily hear of the health and safety of your serenity, and of the health and safety of the aforesaid most illustrious Lady Catherine, whom we think of and esteem as our own daughter, than which nothing can be more grateful and acceptable to us. Therefore we request your serenity to certify of your estate, and of that of the aforesaid most illustrious Lady Catherine our common daughter. And if there be any thing in our power which would be grateful or pleasant to your majesty, use us and ours as freely as you would your own; for, with most willing mind, we offer all that we have to you, and wish to have all in common with you. We should have written you the news of our state, and of that of this kingdom, but the most serene lord the king, our husband, will have written at length of these things to your majesties. For the

rest may your majesty fare most happily according to your wishes.

From our palace of Westminster, 3d day of December, 1497.

ELIZABETH R.

To the most serene and potent princess the Lady Elizabeth, by God's grace queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, &c., our cousin and dearest kinswoman.

LETTER XLVII.

Margaret Beaufort Countess of Richmond, Mother of King Henry VII., to Richard Shirley. A.D. vers. 1501.

[COTTON MS. VESPASIAN, F. XIII. ART. 85, FOL. 74. *Original.*]

*** Of Margaret countess of Richmond and Derby, the celebrated ancestress of our Tudor sovereigns, little need here be said. The able and very interesting memoir of this lady recently published by Miss Halsted, contains almost all the information about her which historic research has hitherto elicited. The former of the two letters here given has not been printed before, and is little remarkable, except as shewing the activity with which Margaret intermeddled in public affairs. The latter is printed by Miss Halsted.[a] It is inserted here because the illustrious position occupied by its writer seemed to necessitate the introduction of a more lengthy specimen of her epistolary powers amongst the "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of England." The date is fixed by Miss Halsted in 1501, from the allusion to the elect bishop of Ely, Richard Redman, who was translated to the see of Ely from that of Exeter in that year. The signa-

[a] P. 211.

ture of MARGARET R. was always adopted by the Countess, to shew, we presume, that if she were not a queen she thought that she ought to have been.[a]

MARGARET R.

Richard Shirley,

We send unto you at this time the king's servant, clerk of the market, this bearer for ordinance and devising of victuals, as well for man as beast, within our town there; willing you to help and assist him in the same the best you can, and thereupon to do the execution thereof as you tender our pleasure. Written at the manor of Hatfield, the 23d day of July.

To our servant Richard Shirley,
bailiff of our town of Ware.

[a] A few documents relating to this interesting lady, unnoticed by Miss Halsted, may here be named. In the Chapter-house, Westminster, is an original Latin grant to "the lord king her most dearly beloved son," in token of "the maternal and cordial love" she bears him, of the manor of Working in Surrey, reserving only a knight's office to her dear cousin Charles duke of Somerset. The date is October 28th, 21° Henry VII. (1505). The style adopted is "Margaret countess of Richmond and Derby, most humble mother of the most excellent prince the Lord Henry VII." The seal is, quarterly, England and France surmounted by a coronet of alternate roses and fleurs-de-lis. The legend is considerably broken. It seems to have been [Sigillum] Margaretæ com [itissæ Richmondiæ et Derb]iæ duc. Sanicet mat[ris regis Henrici septimi]. Amongst Cole's MS. collections, Additional MS. 5342, pp. 304–7, are curious particulars of the foundation of her lectureship at Cambridge in 1503; MS. 5850, fol. 44, contains some Latin verses to her memory; MS. 5813, fol. 114, two letters to her from the University of Cambridge; and Cole MS. 159, fol. 223 b, the vow of celibacy into which she entered. Grants of lands, privileges, &c., to her abound on the Patent rolls, and other records of Henry VII.

LETTER XLVIII.

Margaret Beaufort Countess of Richmond to her Son, Henry VII. A.D. 1501.

[HOWARD LETTERS, P. 155. *From the Holograph.*]

My dearest and only desired joy in this world,

With my most hearty loving blessings and humble commendations I pray our Lord to reward and thank your grace, for that it hath pleased your highness so kindly and lovingly to be content to write your letters of thanks to the French king, for my great matter, that so long hath been in suit, as Master Welby hath shewed me your bounteous goodness is pleased. I wish, my dear heart, an my fortune be to recover it, I trust you shall well perceive I shall deal towards you as a kind, loving mother; and, if I should never have it, yet your kind dealing is to me a thousand times more than all that good I can recover, an all the French king's might be mine withal. My dear heart, an it may please your highness to license Master Whitstone,[a] for this time, to present your honourable letters, and begin the process of my cause—for that he so well knoweth the matter, and also brought me the writings from the said French king, with his other letters to his parliament at Paris—it should be

[a] *Whytstonge* in the original.

greatly to my help, as I think: but all will I remit to your pleasure. And if I be too bold in this, or any my desires, I humbly beseech your grace of pardon, and that your highness take no displeasure.

My good king, I have now sent a servant of mine into Kendall, to receive such annuities as be yet hanging upon the account of Sir William Wall, my lord's chaplain, whom I have clearly discharged; and if it will please your majesty's own heart, at your leisure, to send me a letter, and command me that I suffer none of my tenants be retained with no man, but that they be kept for my lord of York, your fair sweet son,[a] for whom they be most meet, it shall be a good excuse for me to my lord and husband;[b] and then I may well, and without displeasure, cause them all to be sworn, the which shall not after be long undone. And where your grace shewed your pleasure for * * * *, the bastard of King Edward's, sir, there is neither that, nor any other thing, I may do by your commandment, but I shall be glad to fulfil to my little power with God's grace. And, my sweet king, Fielding, this bearer, hath prayed me to beseech you to be his good lord in a matter he sueth for to the Bishop of Ely, now (as we hear) elect, for a little office nigh to London. Verily, my king, he is a good and wise, well-ruled gentleman, and full truly hath served you well, accompanied as well at your first as all other occa-

[a] Afterwards Henry VIII.

[b] Her third husband, Thomas lord Stanley.

sions, and that causeth us to be the more bold and gladder also to speak for him; howbeit, my lord marquis hath been very low to him in times past, because he would not be retained with him; and truly, my good king, he helpeth me right well in such matters as I have business with in these parts. And, my dear heart, I now beseech you of pardon of my long and tedious writing, and pray Almighty God to give you as long, good, and prosperous life as ever had prince, and as hearty blessings as I can ask of God.

At Calais town, this day of St. Anne's,[a] that I did bring into this world my good and gracious prince, king, and only beloved son.

By your humble servant, beadwoman, and mother,

MARGARET R.

To the King's Grace.

LETTER XLIX.

Catherine of Aragon, as Princess of Wales, to her Father Ferdinand II. A.D. 1505.

[EGERTON MS. 616, FOL. 27. *Holograph Spanish.*]

*** The series of letters which we have now the pleasure of presenting to the reader has been hitherto entirely unknown; the larger number of them having been brought into England only about nine years ago, and the remainder, though they have long slumbered among our national records, having been unnoticed by any historian or biographer of Catherine of Aragon—an extraordinary circumstance, considering that there is scarcely a character among the female royalty of England invested with higher interest than this high-minded and

[a] July 26th.

unfortunate woman. Perhaps one cause of their neglect has been the difficulty which attends the deciphering of them, since they are principally Spanish, and entirely in the handwriting of Catherine, which, though bold and free, is careless, and not always easy to read. It is to Catherine of Aragon, as the widow of prince Arthur and the betrothed of Henry prince of Wales, that our attention must now be turned. She and prince Arthur had corresponded for some time before the arrival of the infanta in England, and the loving strain in which they addressed each other may be judged of by the following epistle from the prince to his *fiancée*. It is translated from the Latin original; neither of the parties understanding the native tongue of the other, their courtship was carried on in Latin :—

Most illustrious and most excellent lady, my dearest spouse, I wish you very much health, with my hearty commendation.

I have read the most sweet letters of your highness lately given to me, from which I have easily perceived your most entire love to me. Truly those your letters, traced by your own hand, have so delighted me, and have rendered me so cheerful and jocund, that I fancied I beheld your highness and conversed with and embraced my dearest wife. I cannot tell you what an earnest desire I feel to see your highness, and how vexatious to me is this procrastination about your coming. I owe eternal thanks to your excellence that you so lovingly correspond to this my so ardent love. Let it continue, I entreat, as it has begun; and, like as I cherish your sweet remembrance night and day, so do you preserve my name ever fresh in your breast. And let your coming to me be hastened, that instead of being absent we may be present with each other, and the love conceived between us and the wished-for joys may reap their proper fruit.

Moreover I have done as your illustrious highness enjoined me, that is to say, in commending you to the most serene lord and lady the king and queen my parents, and in declaring your filial regard towards them, which to them was most pleasing to hear, especially from my lips. I also beseech your highness that it may please you to exercise a similar good office for me, and to commend me with hearty good will to my most serene lord and lady your parents; for I greatly value, venerate, and esteem them, even as though they were my own, and wish them all happiness and prosperity.

May your highness be ever fortunate and happy, and be kept safe and joyful, and let me know it often and speedily by your letters,

which will be to me most joyous. From our castle of Ludlow, 3d nones (5th) of October, A.D. 1499.

Your highness' most loving spouse,
ARTHUR, PRINCE OF WALES, DUKE OF CORNWALL, ETC.
Eldest son of the King.

To the most illustrious and excellent princess, the Lady Catherine, princess of Wales, duchess of Cornwall, &c., my most entirely beloved spouse.[a]

The date of this letter, it will be perceived, is October 1499, nearly two years before Catherine gratified her impatient bridegroom with her presence. He seems to have consoled himself by writing to her very frequently, however. There is in the MS. just quoted another of his amorous *billets-doux*, written on the 1st of November, 1499, scarcely a month after the one here given,[b] and also an affectionate letter from him to Queen Isabella the mother of his betrothed, acknowledging the receipt of autograph letters from her full of kindness.[c]

Notwithstanding the eager wishes of the prince, Ferdinand and Isabella still put off the evil hour in which they should be called upon to separate from their young and lovely child. At length, in January 1500, doctor de Puebla, the Spanish ambassador in England, wrote to his royal master and mistress, setting forth the merits of prince Arthur, and especially recounting his advantages in uniting the claims of both the rival branches of the English royal family, and very respectfully urging that, since he would soon be fourteen years of age, it was high time the señora princess should come over.[d] The autumn of the year 1500 was therefore fixed upon,[e] and on the 20th of June

[a] Egerton MS. No. 616, fol. 10. Although Arthur addresses Catherine as his spouse, her commission to Puebla to complete the marriage contract was not given till December 20th of this year. In it she signs herself "The Princess of Wales."— *Cotton. MS. Vesp. C. XII. fol.* 196.

[b] Egerton MS. 616, fol. 11. [c] Ibid. fol. 12.

[d] Letter of Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella. Original Spanish. Egerton MS. 616, fol. 16.

[e] Agreement between Ferdinand and Isabella, and Henry VII. Cotton. MS. Vespasian, C. XII. fol. 204.

in that year Henry VII. wrote to express his pleasure at Catherine's approaching arrival. A month afterwards, however, he received tidings that the voyage of the infanta was again delayed. Upon this he wrote a very earnest epistle to the Spanish monarch; expressed his great affection for the princess, whom he assured them he loved as his own daughter and had the greatest desire to see; said how disappointed he had been that her journey had been postponed from September to October, as he had made great preparations for her honourable reception, and still more so when, on account of the danger of the voyage, it was thought expedient still farther to delay. As, however, he would not in any wise wish her to incur perils by sea, he consented that she should remain in Spain till the following summer.[a] On the 17th of August, 1541, Catherine of Aragon at length set sail for the shores of England.

Very extensive preparations were made for her reception. She was to have been met at Gravesend by the lord steward and a number of other gentlemen and ladies, in sundry barks, who should there hail and salute her "in the best manner they can, and that the minstrels fail not to do their part as accordeth to them. And as soon as her ship shall be fallen to an anchor, the said lord steward and all other nobles shall go into the ship wherein the said princess shall be, and after the king's commendations made by my said lord steward, the queen's by her chamberlain, and the prince's by his chamberlain, in such form as they shall be by them commanded, the said prior of Canterbury shall say the proposition; after the which my said lord steward shall shew or cause to be shewed to the said princess that the king's grace, tenderly considering her great and long pain and travel upon the sea, would full gladly that she had landed and lodged for the night at Gravesend: but forasmuch as the plague was there of late, and that it is not yet clean purged thereof, the king would not that she should be put in any such adventure or danger, and therefore his grace hath commanded the said bark to be prepared and arrayed for her lodging. Wherefore he shall on the king's behalf desire her, for her more ease and relief, to depart out of her own ship into the said bark, declaring to her also that in the same she shall be conveyed to the city of London. And if it shall please the said princess so to do, my said lord steward shall see that she shall be well and honourably entreated and entertained in every behalf, and that she be served in the same bark of her diets and appurtenances; and though the said princess will not in any

[a] Egerton MS. 616, fol. 14. Original Latin.

wise depart out of her ship into the said bark before such time as she shall be straight conveyed unto the city, the king's commandment yet is that she have the said diets and all such victuals and wines as be provided for her sent her in her ship, and there served with the same." Many nobles and prelates besides the ladies were appointed to meet her at different stages of her journey.[a]

Adverse destiny, however, willed it otherwise; for, "the impatient winds of that coast seem to have been greatly aggrieved, and not peaceably to suffer the sore-desired passage of the said princess to the coasts of England;" "whereupon they cruelly, with right great hugeness of storms and tempest, opposed with their outrageous blasts the *clothes* (sails) of the said ships, enhanced their masts out of their sockets, distroubled their tackling, and all their whole weighing; the perilous seas with waves so fearfully wrought and *areared*, that the rulers and crafty mariners" "thought to some of their own lately forsaken havens they should return their course, where within short season it contented Almighty God that more pleasant winds should goodly rule the journeys of the clear airs above, through whose help and aid to the English ports they were right shortly conveyed, and fortunately they arrived at Plymouth, far in the country of the west."

The particulars of the reception of Catherine and her marriage with Arthur are well known; but the brief space of six months deprived the infanta of her young husband, and left her, in April 1502, a widow and an exile in a foreign land. Earnest suit was made to the king her father to procure her hand for the duke of Calabria, son of Frederick king of Naples,[b] but Henry VII., unwilling to relinquish her immense dowry, prevailed upon Ferdinand to permit her to be contracted to his remaining son Henry. The ceremony of betrothment took place on the 26th of December, 1503. Ferdinand professed that this connexion was very agreeable to him, though it is more than probable that the difficulty of obtaining the restitution of the infanta and her dower, without coming to an open breach with the king of England, was the most powerful argument in procuring his assent to a marriage which the opinions of the times condemned as incestuous.

Amongst the state records of the period is a very curious volume of instructions given to, and reports afforded by the English ambassadors sent to Aragon in the year 1505. It is written in the form of

[a] Harleian MS. 69, fol. 40, et seq.

[b] Royal letters, vol. A. IV, 10, fol. 16, Rolls-house.

question and answer, the queries being proposed before they left England, and blanks left which were filled up by the ambassadors: they report that the king of Aragon was much concerned for the loss of his wife Isabella of Castile, who died on the 26th of November, 1504, but that he had said to them that, "as to the conclusion of the espousals betwixt the noble lord the prince of Wales and my daughter the lady Catherine, it is right greatly unto my comfort; for oftentimes, when that I am troubled in my mind for the death of my queen, and with other causes, it right greatly rejoiceth me that I am assured that my daughter shall be married unto so noble a prince, and that she shall have so noble a father-in-law as my brother of England."[a] The ambassadors proceed, with much quaint gravity, to inform their master that the larger portion of the common people in Spain are utterly ignorant of the existence of any other country besides their own; but they add that such of them as had been made partakers of the erudite information that there did exist other nations under the sun greatly rejoiced at the contract with England.[b] One of the formal queries proposed to the ambassadors was as follows:—"Item, what speech is there of the marriage betwixt my lord prince and the lady Catherine, and how they take the same, and what rejoicing they take thereof?" To this the reply was,—"Your grace shall understand that the king himself, and other lords and nobles of that land, right greatly rejoiceth the aforesaid conclusion of marriage, as that they do say; and that thereby they do trust for to have your succour if that they shall have need of your grace and of your land; and they be desirous, an it pleased God, that my lord the prince and my lady the princess were so near unto the crown of Castile and Leon, and all these lands, as the archduke and his queen is;[c] for every man and woman of the realm that do know my lady the princess favour and love her more than any other of the king's children. Notwithstanding, after the decease of my lord the prince Arthur, on whose soul we beseech Almighty God to have mercy, and before the conclusion made betwixt my lord the prince that now is and the lady princess, much labour was made unto the king her father and the queen her mother that the said lady princess might be married unto the duke of Calabria, the which is now in the court of Spain; and he was son unto the king don Frederick of Naples, the which of late deceased in France; and this marriage they would have made to the intent that, after the decease of the king of Aragon that now is, that

[a] Royal letters, vol. A. IV. 10, fol. 4. [b] Ibid. fol. 15.
[c] Philip of Austria and Joanna of Castile.

the said duke of Calabria and the princess should have been king and queen of Naples."[a]

From the same record[b] we find that the June of that year, 1505, had been fixed upon for the marriage of Henry and Catherine, but for some unknown reason it did not then take place.

The two following letters were written in the September of that year. They are short, but interesting as developing a prominent feature in Catherine's character—her constant and kindly regard for her inferiors. The Spanish of the princess is remarkably pure and correct; the orthography of that language, being much more settled than our own at the same period, differs comparatively little from modern Spanish.

Most high and most puissant lord,

It is known to your highness how donna Maria de Salazar was lady to the queen my lady, who is in blessed glory, and how her highness sent her to come with me; and in addition to the service which she did to her highness, she has served me well, and in all this has done as a worthy woman. Wherefore I supplicate your highness that, as well on account of the one service as the other, you would command her to be paid, since I have nothing wherewith to pay her, and also because her sister, the wife of Monsieur d'Aymeria, has in view for her a marriage in Flanders, of which she cannot avail herself, nor hope that it can be accomplished, without knowing what the said donna Maria has for a marriage-portion.

[a] Royal letters, vol. A. IV. 10, fol. 16, Rolls-house. The duke of Calabria here referred to was Ferdinand, whose father, Frederick III. of Naples, died at Tours, in France, in 1504, having been deprived of his dominions by Louis XII. and Ferdinand of Aragon. Young Ferdinand was taken captive, and long detained in Aragon to prevent his vindicating his hereditary rights.

[b] Fol. 20.

And thus I myself supplicate your highness to command her to be favoured, that she may recover that which her father captain Salazar gave her, and that which belonged to her of her property. And in reference to a privilege which your highness did the favour to grant to captain Salazar of two hundred milreas as a pension for him, and after his days for this his daughter, that your highness would command entire justice to be observed towards her, and, because I wished it, would send a power to Martin Sanchez de Camudio to recover all that belonged to her. Therefore I supplicate your highness that you will send to command him, because he is near the house of her father, and may be able to negotiate it well. In all that which has been said your highness will do me most signal favour, and in causing it to be done quickly, in order that donna Maria de Salazar may not lose this marriage, which is most good and honourable. Our Lord guard the life and most royal estate of your highness, and increase it as I desire.

From Durham [house], the eighth of September.

The humble servant of your highness,
who kisses your hands,
THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

To the most high and most puissant lord the (king)
my lord.

Endorsed, "To his highness from the Princess of Wales, 8th of September, 1505."

LETTER L.

Catherine of Aragon, as Princess of Wales, to her Father, Ferdinand II. A.D. 1505.

[EGERTON MS. 616, FOL. 28. *Original Spanish.*][a]

Most high and most puissant lord,

John de Ascuycia, my servant, bearer of this present, is going to you for certain business, of which he will inform your highness concerning donna Maria de Salazar, a lady of my house, for a remedy; as your highness will see by my letter. He has served me much since I came into England. He has a brother in Castile; he told me that he is a person in whom there is every merit. I supplicate your highness to send to give him a place in a captainship of men-at-arms, by which your highness will be better served, in which I shall receive most signal favour. In this, as in the other affairs which he has in charge, let him be greatly favoured. Our Lord guard the life and most royal estate of your highness, and increase it as I desire.

From Durham House, 8th of September.

The humble servant of your highness,
who kisses your hands,
THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

To the most high and most puissant lord the king my lord.

[a] The subscription is in the handwriting of the princess, but not the signature.

LETTER LI.

Catherine of Aragon, as Princess of Wales, to her Father, Ferdinand II. A.D. vers. 1504.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. III. 7, FOL. 54 b, ROLLS-HOUSE.]

*** The date of the present letter is uncertain, but it must have been written after the year 1504, when Isabella of Castile died. It probably belongs to the same period as the two preceding. It is printed from a contemporaneous translation in the handwriting of the early part of the sixteenth century. Its authenticity is proved by the fact that in the same volume there are two similar translations, in the same handwriting, of letters of Catherine of Aragon, the originals of both of which are in existence, and which prove on comparison to be very faithfully rendered.

Right high and right mighty lord,

Your highness knoweth how that there came hither with me six ladies, the which have served me right well and with much necessity, without I giving them one maravedi. Some of them were with the queen my lady (who have the holy joy), and they served her a long time; and for that it is reason that they should marry, and I have nothing for to give to them and to help them, I beseech your highness for to do me a grace, and that you will command to give unto their marriages, and that you will please for to write unto me the sum that your grace shall be pleased and served for to give them, for that I

may make answer unto them that shall move of marriages unto them: and therefore I kiss the hands of your highness.

Humble servant of your highness,
that kiss his hands,
THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

LETTER LII.

Catherine of Aragon, as Princess of Wales, to her Father, Ferdinand II. A.D. 1505.

[COTTON. MS. VESPASIAN, C. XII. FOL. 207. *Holograph Spanish.*]

*** Catherine of Aragon was very unhappy in England. Puebla, her father's ambassador, a cold-hearted politician, paid little attention to her feelings in his wish to conciliate Henry VII. This man was high in favour with Ferdinand.[a] The English king had a great regard for him,[b] and between the two the poor princess was treated with much neglect. Of this she bitterly complains in the following letter, the date of which, from internal evidence, is clearly December, 1505, although it has been by mistake headed as written in 1501.[c] It will be observed that the princess speaks of having been ill for two months of a tertian fever, and in a letter written in April, 1506, she says she has been ill for six months. That this illness was the tertian fever is proved by another letter written in October, 1506, reporting her recovery from that disease.

The present letter certainly fell into the hands of Henry VII. or his council, for a translation of it, in a contemporaneous hand, is found amongst the regal records in the Chapter-house.[d]

[a] Chapter-house records, vol. A. IV. 10, fol. 35, Rolls-house.

[b] Egerton MS. 616, fol. 31.

[c] The date of 1501 is about as absurd as the statement in the Cottonian Catalogue that it was probably written to Arthur prince of Wales!

[d] Vol. B. III. 7, fol. 55.

Most high and most puissant lord,

Hitherto I have not wished to let your highness know the affairs here, that I might not give you annoyance, and also thinking that they would improve; but it appears that the contrary is the case, and that each day my troubles increase; and all this on account of the doctor de Puebla, to whom it has not sufficed that from the beginning he transacted a thousand falsities against the service of your highness, but now he has given me new trouble; and because I believe your highness will think that I complain without reason, I desire to tell you all that has passed.

Your highness shall know, as I have often written to you, that since I came into England I have not had a single maravedi, except a certain sum which was given me for food, and this such a sum that it did not suffice without my having many debts in London; and that which troubles me more is to see my servants and maidens so at a loss, and that they have not wherewith to get clothes; and this I believe is all done by hand of the doctor, who, notwithstanding your highness has written, sending him word that he should have money from the king of England, my lord, that their costs should be given them, yet, in order not to trouble him, will rather intrench upon and neglect the service of your highness. Now, my lord, a few

days ago donna Elvira de Manuel[a] asked my leave to go to Flanders to get cured of a complaint which has come into her eyes, so that she lost the sight of one of them; and there is a physician in Flanders who cured the infanta donna Isabel of the same disease with which she is affected. She laboured to bring him here so as not to leave me, but could never succeed with him; and I, since if she were blind she could not serve me, durst not hinder her journey. I begged the king of England, my lord, that until our donna Elvira should return his highness would command that I should have, as a companion, an old English lady, or that he would take me to his court; and I imparted all this to the doctor, thinking to make of the rogue a true man; but it did not suffice me—because he not only drew me to court, in which I have some pleasure, because I had supplicated the king for an asylum, but he negotiated that the king should dismiss all my household, and take away my chamber-(equipage), and send to place it in a house of his own, so that I should not be in any way mistress of it.

And all this does not weigh upon me, except that it concerns the service of your highness, doing the contrary of that which ought to be done. I

[a] She was the chief maid of honour. Her husband, Maurique Manuel, was Catherine's major-domo.—*Cotton. MS. Vesp. C. XI. fol.* 49-50.

entreat your highness that you will consider that I am your daughter, and that you consent not that on account of the doctor I should have such trouble, but that you will command some ambassador to come here, who may be a true servant of your highness, and for no interest will cease to do that which pertains to your service. And if in this your highness trusts me not, do you command some person to come here, who may inform you of the truth, and then you will have one who will better serve you. As for me, I may say to your highness that, in seeing this man do so many things not like a good servant of your highness, I have had so much pain and annoyance that I have lost my health in a great measure; so that for two months I have had severe tertian fevers, and this will be the cause that I shall soon die. I supplicate your highness to pardon me that I presume to entreat you to do me so great favour as to command that this doctor may not remain; because he certainly does not fulfil the service of your highness, which he postpones to the service of the worst interest which can be. Our Lord guard the life and most royal estate of your highness, and ever increase it as I desire. From Richmond, the second of December.

My lord, I had forgotten to remind your highness how you know that it was agreed that you were to give, as a certain part of my dowry, the plate and jewels that I brought; and yet I am certain that the king of England, my lord, will

not receive anything of plate nor of jewels which I have used; because he told me himself that he was indignant that they should say in his kingdom that he took away from me my ornaments. And as little may your highness expect that he will take them in account and will return them to me; because I am certain that he will not do so, nor is any such thing customary here. In like wise the jewels which I brought came from thence (Spain) valued at a great sum.[a] The king would not take them in the half of the value, because here all these things are esteemed much cheaper, and the king has so many jewels that he rather desires money than them. I write thus to your highness because I know that there will be great embarrassment if he will not receive them, except at less price. It appears to me that it would be better that your highness should take them for yourself, and should give to the king of England, my lord, his money. Your highness will see what would serve you best, and with this I shall be most content.

The humble servant of your highness,
who kisses your hands,
THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

In Ferdinand's reply to the present letter, which was addressed to Puebla, he says:—

"You may say from me to the princess my daughter, that it seems to me that in all these things she should be very conformable and pay much respect and obedience to the king of England my brother, her

[a] The jewels at 20,000 crowns, and the plate at 15,000. Ferdinand and Isabella to Puebla, Cotton. MS. Vesp. C. XI. fol. 47.

father. As I believe she will, because by this means he will more love her, and do more for her, and since, God willing, it so happens that she has always to be in that land, and spend her life with the king of England my brother, her father, and with the prince of Wales my son, her husband; and, since the expense of her and her house, and the salaries of her people, are and must ever be at the charge of the said king of England my brother, her father, it seems to me that she should labour that her whole household and people should yield and assent to the will and pleasure of the king of England my brother, that he may thus fulfil all; and it is to be believed that he will regard his honour, and that of the princess my daughter!"[a]

LETTER LIII.

Catherine of Arayon, as Princess of Wales, to her Father, Ferdinand II. A.D. 1506.

[EGERTON MS. NO. 616, ART. 55, FOL. 17. *Holograph Spanish.*]

*** Early in the year 1506, Henry VII. received an unexpected visit from Philip and Joanna, king and queen of Castile, the brother-in-law and sister of Catherine, who were driven by violent storms on to the coast of Weymouth, after having narrowly escaped shipwreck.

Amongst the Cottonian MSS.[b] there is a very curious inedited account, given by an eye-witness, probably a herald, of the reception of these royal guests, and a detail of the manner in which every day was spent during their visit. A few extracts, which introduce us to Catherine, the "lady princess" in the court of Henry VII., may not be considered out of place here.

Queen Joanna seems to have suffered too much from the perils she had lately undergone to advance farther than the coast, and her husband, whose conduct towards her was ever marked by indifference, proceeded to Windsor without her, where he was received with much ceremonious courtesy by Henry VII., and lodged and entertained

[a] Cotton. MS. Vesp. C. XI. fol. 50.
[b] Vespasian, C. XII. fol. 236. et seq.

with great splendour, and within two hours afterwards Catherine and her suite arrived at the castle.

The following Sunday, February 1st, after mass and dinner, Henry sent to invite the Castilian king to "see the ladies dance for a pastime;"[a] an invitation which was cheerfully accepted, and the chamber *voided* and prepared accordingly.

"And when," says our chronicler, "the king heard that the king of Castile was coming, he went to the door of the great chamber and there received him, and desired him to take him by the arm, or else the king of Castile would not have taken so much upon him, but by the king's desire; and so both together went through that chamber, the king's dining-chamber, and from thence to an inner chamber, where was my lady princess, and my lady Mary, the king's daughter, and diverse other ladies. And after the king of Castile had kissed them and communed with them, and communed awhile with the king and the ladies all, they came into the king's dining-chamber, where danced my lady princess, and a Spanish lady with her in Spanish array; and after she had danced two or three dances she left, and then danced my lady Mary and an English lady with her, and, ever anon, the lady princess desired the king of Castile to dance, which, after that he had excused him once or twice, answered that he was a mariner, 'and yet,' said he, 'you would cause me to dance;' and so he danced not, but communed still with the king. And after that my lady Mary had danced two or three dances, she went and sat by my lady princess on the end of the carpet, which was under the cloth of estate, and near where the king and the king of Castile stood. And then danced one of the strange lords and a lady of England. That done, my lady Mary played on the lute, and after upon the claregalls,[b] who played very well, and she was of all folks there greatly praised that in her youth in every thing she behaved herself so very well."

The party was broken up by the arrival of the archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates, summoning them to even-song, to which the two princes proceeded arm-in-arm.

The only mention of prince Henry, Catherine's betrothed husband, is in the minute details of the ceremonials attendant upon the instalment of Philip as knight of the garter, when the prince buckled the garter upon the knee of his brother-in-law,[c] and, in return for the compliment, was himself invested with the order of the *toison d'or*, or golden fleece.[d]

[a] Vespasian, C. XII. fol. 239 b. [b] So in MS.: *claricords* or *regals?*
[c] Ibid, fol. 242 b. [d] Ibid, fol. 247.

"The Tuesday the 10th of the said month, the queen of Castile came to the said castle of Windsor, accompanied, besides her own servants, with the earl of Arundel, the lord St. Amand,[a] the lord Mountjoy, and divers other gentlemen, which by the king's commandment had attended afore upon her by the space of . . . [b]; and they entered by the little park, and secretly came to the back side of the castle, unto the king's new tower, where, at the stair foot, the king met with her, and kissed and embraced her, howbeit that the king of Castile that there was there present with the king had divers times before desired the king's highness for to have remained in his own lodging, and not to have taken the pains to have gone so far.

"And after the king had welcomed her, my lady princess her sister, my lady Mary the king's daughter, having many ladies and gentlewomen attending upon them, welcomed her; and so all together went up into the king of Castile's lodgings. And in the outer chamber the king departed from her, and the king of Castile conveyed the king to his lodging, and so at that time departed.

Wednesday the 11th was occupied in an exhibition of the genealogies of the two kings, shewing how nearly they were related to each other. And that day "departed my lady princess and my lady Mary to Richmond." Thursday the 12th king Henry also departed for Richmond, leaving the king and queen of Castile at Windsor, where they remained till the Saturday; on which day the queen, traveling in the rich litter of the late queen Elizabeth of York, went towards the sea-side, sleeping all night at Reading. The king went over to Richmond, which he greatly admired, where he remained till the Monday week following [Feb. 23], spending the time in all sorts of diversions, and at length took his departure, and was conveyed a mile or more on the way by Henry. Contrary winds detained them, however, more than a month on the coast; but Henry VII., having obtained from Philip several important concessions, in a treaty signed at Windsor on the 9th of February,[c] paid him little farther attention."

It thus appears that the princess Catherine was only allowed to spend a single day with her sister; and, minute as are the details given by the writer of the MS., he never once mentions any private intercourse between her and king Philip. The motives of this restraint, otherwise inexplicable, abundantly appear in the details of the following letter, which shew the conduct of Henry VII. towards his

[a] Richard Beauchamp. [b] Blank in MS.

[c] Cotton. MS. Titus, B. I. fol. 2.

daughter-in-law to have been such, that he might well dislike its forming the topic of confidential communication between her and her Spanish relatives.

The niggardliness of the king towards her was the less excusable on account of the immense dower granted her by her parents, and also because, as the widow of prince Arthur, she could claim, according to a previous agreement,[a] a third of the revenues of Wales, Cornwall, and Chester, as her jointure.

After the departure of king Philip, Catherine still remained at Richmond, whence she wrote the following letter, before he and Joanna had quitted England. The first folio is unfortunately missing, a circumstance the more to be regretted from the great interest of the portion which remains.

The complaint of the princess that she did not understand English is singular, considering that she had been four years in England. It shews how little association she had with any but her own suite of Spanish attendants. It is probable that her intercourse with Henry VII. was carried on in Latin, with which language they were both familiar.

---

* * * * * * * *

[I cannot] speak more particularly, because I know not what will become of this letter, or if it will arrive at the hands of your highness; but when don Pedro d'Ayala shall come, who is now with the king and queen in the harbour, your highness shall know all by ciphers. I have written many times to your highness, supplicating you to order a remedy for my extreme necessity, of which (letters) I have never had an answer. Now I supplicate your highness, for the love of our Lord, that you consider how I am your daughter,. and that after Him (God) I have no other good nor remedy, except in your high-

[a] Patent of prince Arthur to Catherine. Cotton. MS. Vesp. C. XII. fol. 220.

ness; and how I am in debt in London, and this not for extravagant things, nor yet by relieving my own (people), who greatly need it, but only for food; and how the king of England, my lord, will not cause them (the debts) to be satisfied, although I myself spoke to him, and all those of his council, and that with tears: but he said that he is not obliged to give me anything, and that even the food he gives me is of his good will; because your highness has not kept promise with him in the money of my marriage-portion. I told him that I believed that in time to come your highness would discharge it. He told me that that was yet to see, and that he did not know it. So that, my lord, I am in the greatest trouble and anguish in the world. On the one part, seeing all my people that they are ready to ask alms; on the other, the debts which I have in London; on the other, about my own person, I have nothing for chemises; wherefore, by your highness' life, I have now sold some bracelets to get a dress of black velvet, for I was all but naked: for since I departed thence (from Spain) I have nothing except two new dresses, for till now those I brought from thence have lasted me ;[a] although now I have nothing but the dresses of brocade. On this account I supplicate your highness to command to remedy this, and that as quickly as may be; for certainly I shall not be able to live in this manner.

I likewise supplicate your highness to do me so

[a] It will be remembered that, at the dance given in honour of king Philip, Catherine is said to have worn "Spanish array."

great a favour as to send me a friar of the order of San Francesco de Osservancya, who is a man of letters, for a confessor; because, as I have written at other times to your highness, I do not understand the English language, nor know how to speak it: and I have no confessor. And this should be, if your highness will so command it, very quickly; because you truly know the inconvenience of being without a confessor, especially now to me, who, for six months have been near death: but now, thanks to our Lord, I am somewhat better, although not entirely well.

This I supplicate your highness once again that it may be as soon as possible. Calderon, who brings this letter, has served me very well. He is now going to be married. I have not wherewith to recompense him. I supplicate your highness to do me so great a favour as to command him to be paid there (in Spain) and have him commended; for I have such care for him that any favour that your highness may do him I should receive as most signal.

Our Lord guard the life and most royal estate of your highness, and increase it as I desire.

From Richmond, the 22d of April.

The humble servant of your highness,
who kisses your hands,
THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

To the most high and puissant lord the king my [father.]

Endorsed also in Spanish, "To his highness, from the lady Princess of Wales, 22d of April, 1506."

LETTER LIV.

Catherine of Aragon, as Princess of Wales, to the Queen of Castile. A.D. 1506.

[EGERTON MS. 616, FOL. 32. *Holograph Spanish.*]

*** The person to whom the following letter is addressed is doubtless Germaine de Foix, the second wife of Ferdinand of Aragon, to whom he was married in the spring of 1506.[a] It seems that she had commenced a correspondence with her distant step-daughter. The letter is short and somewhat formal, as was naturally to be expected from the relative situation of the parties.

Most high and most powerful lady,

Since I wrote the other day to your highness from here I had more attacks of fever, but they have left me, as you desire, so that, thanks to God, I am somewhat better now, and in better spirits. It appears to me that it is right to let your highness know, whose life and the royal estate of your highness our Lord prosper.

From . . . .[b]

The humble servant of your highness,
who kisses your hands,

THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

To the most high and powerful lady the queen
my lady.

Endorsed, "To the queen my lady, from the lady Princess of Wales, 17th of October, 1506."

[a] L'art de vérifier, vol. vi. p. 511.

[b] The letters discernible are *y. acx* . . The whole letter is written in the most hasty manner, and the ink is in some places much faded.

LETTER LV.

Catherine of Aragon, as Princess of Wales, to her Father, Ferdinand II. A.D. 1506.

[HISTORICAL MS. VOL. I. ART. 23. IN THE PRIVATE COLLECTION OF DAWSON TURNER, ESQ. *Holograph Spanish.*]

*** The present letter is placed in 1506, because of the allusion to the recent illness of the princess, which occurred, as we have seen, in that year. A contemporaneous translation of it is to be found among the regal records of the Chapter-house, now in the Rolls-house.[a] From it have been supplied a few blanks which were illegible in the original.[b]

Right high and right puissant lord,

I have written to your highness other times beseeching you to grant me the favour of a benefice in the realm of Naples for a son of a physician of the king of England, my lord, who is a native of Genoa, and I am so much beholden unto him that I know not wherewith to pay him, for that (after God) he gave me my life in a great sickness that I had; and now in this that I have he has been of great service to me, and I believe that he will bring it to a good end with the help of our Lord. Therefore I beseech your highness for to do me so great a favour as to command to give unto him this ecclesiastical benefice

[a] Royal letters, vol. B. III. 7, fol. 54.

[b] For transcripts of the following, and several other letters, the editor is indebted to the courtesy of Dawson Turner, Esq.

in the realm of Naples for his son, and that it may be done as soon as it may be possible, because, as I have said unto your highness, I am much beholden unto him. And for this I kiss the hands of your highness, whose life and royal estate our Lord keep and increase as I desire.

From Richmond, the 8th day of December.

The humble servant of your highness,
who kisses your hands,
THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

LETTER LVI.

Catherine of Aragon, as Princess of Wales, to her Father, Ferdinand II. A.D. 1507.

[EGERTON MS. 616, ART. 54, FOL. 19. *Holograph Spanish.*]

*** The visit of Philip of Austria and Joanna of Castile to England was referred to in a preceding letter. It was followed in the autumn of the same year by the sudden decease of Philip, when only in his twenty-eighth year. Before this time Henry VII. of England, now a widower, had been trying to negotiate a second marriage for himself with Margaret of Savoy, the sister of Philip, afterwards so celebrated as Regent of the Low Countries; but he now transferred his attentions to Joanna. The young widow was already, in her own right, queen of Castile, with the reversion of the crown of Aragon on the death of her father. She had six young children, the eldest of whom, afterwards the celebrated Charles V., was then only six years old. But so passionate was her grief for the loss of a husband whom she had loved intensely, though he had treated her with neglect, that not all the splendours which surrounded her, not even the caresses of her infants, could soothe her; her mind yielded beneath the pressure of unutterable woe,

and she became ravingly mad.[a] Unconscious of or unheeding her situation, many a noble suitor was eager to demand the hand of the young heiress. Henry VII. tried to avail himself of the influence of his daughter-in-law, Catherine, to forward a negotiation, which, had it succeeded, would have placed her in the anomalous position of daughter-in-law to her elder sister, for it is evident that neither Catherine nor her father supposed that this alliance would interfere with the former contract between herself and Henry.[b]

The two following letters were written when Ferdinand of Aragon was on his return to Spain, after a long visit to Italy. On July the 20th, two days after their date, and before they could have reached Ferdinand, he wrote to Puebla, his ambassador in England, stating that it had been his full intention to have completed the payment of his daughter's dowry at the time fixed upon by the English king, viz. the September following; but that stormy weather and multiplied business had detained him in Italy longer than he had intended—that it was impossible to send the money until he could obtain an interview with his daughter, the queen of Castile, and that coast-navigation being so dangerous he could only sail in the day-time, and thought it would be a month before he should reach Castile. He therefore requests a prorogation of the day of payment for six months, expressing, however, anxious desires to expedite the affair, and making kind inquiries after the prince and princess of Wales, his children.[c]

[a] One of the most touching lyrics in our language was written by Mrs. Hemans on this subject. See vol. v. p. 202, in the new edition of her works.

[b] A recent biographer of Catherine of Aragon misquotes Dr. Lingard on this affair, by representing the protest secretly entered into in June, 1506, by prince Henry against his contract with Catherine, as proceeding from the desire of Henry VII. to marry her elder sister, united with a fear that his own and his son's marriage with two sisters might be considered incompatible with propriety. But since Joanna did not become a widow till September 1506, three months after the protest was made, this supposition involves an anachronism with which that clear-sighted historian is not chargeable. He merely says that Henry VII. caused his son to make the protest, that he might have it in his power to retract the contract with Catherine if such a step would promote his own political views.

[c] Ancient Royal Letters, 1st series, vol. xxv. State Paper Office. This document is loose. The same volume contains several Spanish

The former of the two following letters, which were both written on the same day, is the formal communication of the princess, which had to be submitted to the inspection of Henry VII. or his ministers. The latter is her own confidential letter to her father, in which she expresses directly opposite wishes in reference to her sister's marriage, complains bitterly of the indignities which she endures, and shews a keen sense of the sorrows of an exile, almost without a friend in a foreign land.

Most high and most puissant lord,

Since your highness will provide every thing so quickly, I have only for the present to let you know that I gave the letter of credence of your highness to the king of England, my lord, and explained to him clearly that which came in cipher.

His highness rejoiced as much as there was reason, and sets a high value on seeing the desire that your highness shews on this occasion to testify your good will by acts, and expressed himself under much obligation to you for it; and that all that your highness says appeared to him so good and so much to his purpose, that he could add nothing more than to commit himself entirely to your highness, since he counts upon you so certainly on his side. And that when your highness has arrived, and has seen the disposition that there is in regard to this busi-

letters from different persons, addressed to Catherine of Aragon as queen. One of these, art. 2, is a very curious epistle, dated "January 6th, 1518, from the city of St. Domingo, of the Spanish isle in the Indies of the ocean," and written by Passamonte, the Spanish ambassador there. He sends the queen a dress and a chair, such as are in use amongst the Caciques, and would have sent her some parrots, but on account of the season he fears they would not live through the voyage.

ness, if it be that which we all desire,[a] the king of England, my lord, will send to your highness his ambassadors, with full and entire power for your highness, making himself known to you as though you were one and the same person with himself, since he believes you nothing less in affection, and thus will trust in your highness as much as in himself: since he holds for certain that you will regard him as your highness offered him, and that no embarrassment may cause this affair to be obstructed.

I wish to advise your highness, that by way of France and also from Spain I have learned how the king of France labours, that if the lady queen of Castile, my sister, should be married, it should be to the conte de Foix; and this does not appear convenient to me, either for the estate of your highness or for that of the lady queen of Castile, because it would be sending discord to the very knife into that kingdom; and your highness could never be secure, since these inconveniences which I here speak of, as resulting from such a marriage in effect, might follow. Let not your highness think that I say this by way of advising you, since I do not say of myself anything in the world that can warn your highness which you will not have well before prepared for; but I say it because I, in this, feel myself personally interested. And in the negotiation which I have spoken of, I supplicate your highness to give

[a] That is if Ferdinand, on his arrival in Castile, find the disposition of the government favourable to the speedy payment of the dowry.

diligence that it may be held as was agreed upon; since, as regards the king of England, my lord, they make great haste with marriages, as for that of the duchess of Savoy and others; and his highness, as well on account of the advantage that there is in this as because he would prefer to contract kindred with your highness rather than with all the princes of Christendom, holds himself entirely in suspense, without determining anything, hoping in this other determination and answer which he expects from your highness. And, since I see with how much affection your highness desires this may come to effect, there will be no need to supplicate you, (or) that I labour at it, except to kiss your hands for the favour that, for my part, in this affair I receive, who may find such new obligation to love your highness more, and give myself to serve you in every respect; since I esteem the affairs of the king of England, my lord, more mine than my own. And since his highness writes more to your highness about this in his letter, I conclude.

Our Lord guard the most famous and royal estate of your highness, and increase it as I desire.

From Greenwich, the 17th of July.

The humble servant of your highness,
who kisses your hands,
THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

To the most high and powerful lord,
my lord.

Endorsed in Spanish, "To his highness, from the Princess of Wales, 18th of July, 1507."

LETTER LVII.

Catherine of Aragon, as Princess of Wales, to her Father, Ferdinand II. A.D. 1507.

[EGERTON MS. 616. ART. 60, FOL. 21. *Holograph Spanish.*]

Most high and most puissant lord,

I received your highness' letters, which, by a servant of the king of England, my lord, you wrote to me; and, setting aside the pleasure which it gave me to know the news of the health of your highness, which I desired, since I can have no greater good after my salvation, so much did the ciphers of your highness avail here, that I have by them passed three or four days in such good spirits as are unearthly; and they were much needed at the time that they came: for not two days before the king had said to me that the journey of your highness was postponed, according to report; and I indeed felt it was said to do me fresh displeasure, so that on all accounts the letters of your highness were necessary to me. At the conjuncture that they arrived, I gave the credence of your highness to the king of England, my lord, and he had shewed to him clearly that which came in cipher. He rejoiced so much to see them that, as I tell your highness, he told me of his great satisfaction thereupon; and he commanded me that I should write on his part to your highness the pleasure that he had of the good will that your highness by this shewed, and that he was greatly obliged by it, and that all that your highness said appears to so good and so much to his profit, that he

could say nothing more than to commit himself entirely to your highness, since he thinks you so certainly on his side; and that when your highness arrives and has seen the disposition that there is to execute that which he wishes, in case it were that which he desires, your highness making it known to him, he will send you ambassadors with all power for your highness, as though you were the same person with himself, since he believes you no less in affection; and thus he will trust your highness as he would himself, since he esteems it certain you will regard him as no less (person) as your highness offered yourself to him.

And since he writes himself to your highness I have no need to enlarge more on his behalf; that which on mine he commanded me to write was to advise your highness how, by way of France and also of Spain, they have written that the king of France was exerting himself so that if the queen should marry it should be with the conte de Foix. He told me that I should tell your (highness) as well on my own part, that this would be great inconvenience for the estate of your highness, and of the queen, and of her sons, and that Frenchmen entering into that kingdom your highness could not be in security; and many other things about this which I do not say, because they are more to his purpose than to that of your highness. And that your highness may provide in that which is most necessary, and that you may see what is most conducive to your service, it suffices

to let you know this, without more apprehension or advices; because, as refers to your highness, I consider such things improper.

That which I venture to supplicate your highness is, that, whatever be the dispositions that your highness shall see entertained on this affair, you will not so act as that it may arrive at effect; for I thus figure it to myself, that it must be that your highness entertains this business in order to terminate my marriage; because with this bait I believe that, as to that which concerns me, things will be done better than the past,[a] when some one comes who knows how to arrange and disinvolve them as I have written to your highness.

And now I will not cease to return to it here, to supplicate your highness that he who shall have to come here may have the authority and rank that I have said, because he has more to do than your highness thinks, or I could tell you. For those of this kingdom are as dilatory as any in the world in negotiating; in it (this kingdom) are needed more particulars than in any other, especially since the necessity is doubled by all being in the state that it is, as he who shall come will see. And much as I say to your highness, I cannot give you to

[a] The curious fact is here elicited that Ferdinand for a time deluded Henry VII. with vain hopes of obtaining queen Joanna's hand, in order to keep him on good terms and induce him to complete the marriage between prince Henry and Catherine, which had become desirable, the princess being in the hands of the king, and in so anomalous a position as betrothed and yet unmarried;—a position which she herself felt as acutely painful.

understand the state in which things are here, because, though I knew how to say it to you, I think your highness would not credit me in much of it; and thus the person who should come here, informing your highness of the truth concerning what is going on, I believe your highness would be frightened at that which I have passed through: so that as to that which pertains to me and to the service of your highness, I should, beyond a trifle, prefer to see such a person as I speak of come without the dowry, than the dowry without a suitable person. And your highness may believe I speak from experience, the which I have well learned by what has passed and continually passes concerning me, for want of such a person as I speak of; because that, if there were one here who would have devoted himself to the service of your highness, my tribulations would not have arrived at such an extreme; since, also, they would not have placed me as a pledge to make peace—they would not have consented that I should lead such a life. But, as I have written to your highness, that which I feel as most importunate is to see myself in such a situation, and that there is no one who will contradict it. If the ambassador whom your highness has here were a man, he would not have consented—even though I were not to be married to the prince,—were it only considering whose daughter I am, that I should be in this kingdom, with such a company in my house that I am indignant to think of it; for

in comparison of this, all the other things that I have passed through I think little of. And thus I am doubly desirous on this account for my remedy, that I may not see myself as never knight's daughter was seen in the kingdom of your highness.

It is certain that I desire that at the least your highness should let the king of England, my lord, know how this is felt,—above all, since you are not in a case not to satisfy him, I being in such a manner in his kingdom, as I told him a few days ago. And I spoke so well that I should rejoice to give account of it to your highness, only that an affair of such length is not to be put in writing. I hope since your highness knows all, you will provide in the manner that I have entreated you, and therefore I will not detain myself in telling your highness many continual troubles that I have passed through; because, since I expect so speedy a remedy, I do not desire to give more trouble than that which, by my past letters, I have given to your highness, since this suffices to enable you to judge that all the rest is of the same fashion.

The shortness of the return of your highness consoles me, since with it I hope all will be remedied, since your highness shewed that you care for me, as indeed I need it.

The king rejoiced much in seeing the speedy attention that your highness intended to give about the coming of the dowry. May it please God that it may come at the time that is hoped for—be-

cause I fear, and not without cause, to think that it should not be so; and for this reason, that it concerns my interest rather than that of your highness. I hold it for certain that it is not necessary that I have made haste to write, although in fear from its not being in cipher, and from not sending it by one of my own people. But I believe as to that that they go by as good a messenger as though he that takes them were of my house, because I send them by a faithful person to Martin Sanchez de Camudio, in order that he himself may take them to your highness.

May it please our Lord that they may arrive at the time that your highness has arrived, because, according to what is reported, they tell me that your highness is so already.

The king himself acknowledged the diligence which I have given in answering your highness in that which concerns him, and I, as well to content him, am glad to let him (know) that which your highness commands me; that in reference to the king, while in the meantime your highness is providing, I may act as hitherto your highness has rightly commanded me, according to that which falls in most with the service of your highness. And that nothing may be hindered by me, I do as I have always done, since I cannot improve upon it; and thus I shall act until your highness sends to give remedy in my life, which is greatly needed. And thus I conclude, supplicating your highness so to act that I may be here favoured by your highness;

and that you may shew that you hold me in esteem, although I may not merit it; because if your highness should desire it, it is in your power that things may not be as they have been hitherto.

That which I say in this letter may suffice in reference to your highness, and that minute that I sent with the king's packet was what I shewed to the king as the meaning of that which I wrote in his affair. And because, in truth, he might have had it shewn to him, I sent it to your highness.[a] He commanded me that I should add, that if the marriage which I have spoken of with the conte de Foix should take place, that in length of time Spain would come to be joined to the crown of France; and as for himself, that he considers himself as a true son of your highness. When your highness writes to him, I entreat you to shew him that in this affair I have the same good will which I shew to him.

May our Lord guard the life and most royal estate of your highness, and increase it as I desire.

From Greenwich, the 18th of July.

The humble servant of your highness,
who kisses your hands.[b]

To the most high and most puissant lord the
King, my [lord.]

[a] The minute alluded to is doubtless the preceding letter. This passage is curious as shewing the double part which Catherine had to play. She wrote that letter, containing sentiments diametrically opposite to her own—read it to the king, as the exposition of her communications with her father on the subject—and then sent it *only* for fear the king should have the packet opened and miss it!

[b] The signature is defaced, excepting the initial flourish.

LETTERS

OF

ROYAL AND ILLUSTRIOUS LADIES

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

DURING THE REIGN OF

HENRY VIII.

LETTER LVIII.

Catherine of Aragon, Queen of Henry VIII., to her Father, Ferdinand II. A.D. 1509.

[EGERTON MS. 616. ART. 56, FOL. 25. *Holograph Spanish.*]

*** The feelings with which Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon mutually completed a union which had been contemplated for them so long have been matter of much speculation. It should be borne in mind that their early betrothal was not considered so binding as to leave it out of the power of Henry to retract if he thought proper; but that, so far from manifesting any disposition to do this, one of the first, and seemingly most cheerful, acts of his reign was to hasten to complete his marriage with his *fiancée*. In a letter to Ferdinand of Aragon, written about six weeks afterwards, he speaks in the most affectionate terms of his consort, "whose virtues," he says, "increase, shine, and flourish more day by day;" and repeatedly declares that, if all the ladies in the world had been offered to his choice, he would have repudiated every other for her sake, and that, were he now again free, he would choose her above all others.[a] A statement made by the bridegroom to the father of his bride might, however, be deemed overstrained, were it not for the testimony of Catherine herself. Her confidential letter to her father here given is seemingly the first she wrote after her marriage; and it will be observed that she speaks of her husband in terms of the deepest affection. Most provokingly, part of this letter is written in cipher, to which no key can be found.[b] When looking upon these mysterious symbols, traced by her own hand at so important a crisis of her history, the thought naturally suggests itself, that the secret of the destiny of Catherine of Aragon may lie buried in the signs which, contrived purposely to baffle research, defy all powers of investi-

[a] Original letter of Henry VIII. to Ferdinand. Egerton MS. 616, fol. 35.

[b] No pains have been spared in searching out the key to this cipher, and, failing this, in endeavouring to elicit a key from the document itself; but they have proved alike unsuccessful.

gation to unravel their hidden meaning. That they refer to some topic intimately concerning her honour and estate, the queen herself intimates in the context.[a]

Most high and most puissant lord,

I received your highness' letter which this courier brought me, with which I rejoiced so much, that your highness will scarcely be able to believe how much pleasure I had in knowing that I have ever been held and esteemed by your highness as your true daughter and servant. And it is the greatest favour that your highness can do me, and most conformed to my will, since I know that in this life I have no other good except that of being your daughter; although (by) your highness so well married, that more cannot be said, except that it may well appear that it is the work of those hands of your highness which I kiss for so signal a favour.

As to the king my lord, amongst the reasons that oblige me to love him much more than myself, the one most strong, although he is my husband, is his being the so true son of your highness, with desire of greater obedience and love to serve you than ever

[a] To her learned correspondent, don Paseval de Gayangos, Arabic professor in the University of Madrid, the editor is indebted for the information that in the archives of Simancas in Spain are several other letters of Catherine of Aragon, written principally in cipher; but that very powerful influence with the Spanish government would be requisite to have them seen or transcribed. Could these letters be made accessible, it is probable they would throw much light on the character and conduct of Henry VIII.

son had to his father. I have performed the office of ambassador as your highness sent to command, and as was known by the king my lord, who is, and places himself entirely, in the hands of your highness, as of so entire a father and lord. And your highness may believe me, that he is such in keeping obedience to your highness as could never have been thought, from which I increase in infinite pleasure as much as reason requires.

The news from here is that those kingdoms of your highness are in great peace, and entertain much love towards the king my lord and to me. His highness and I are very hearty to the service of your highness. Our time is ever passed in continual feasts. I supplicate your highness, as to the favour which you have always bestowed upon me, in which you have shewn me the greatest favour, henceforth to bestow it on me, by shewing that you esteem the king my lord and me as your true children.[a] * * * *

* * * * *

* * * * * *

* * * * * favour.

I feel assured your highness, having received my good-will with the desire which I have for your service with which I write this, and believing that you have given and will give credit to my letters, although you have not chosen to send an answer to all that which was in them,—since it so greatly

[a] The following passage is in cipher, and terminates very abruptly.

concerned my honour and estate that, by the life of your highness, it could not be thought how much the commandant De la Membrilla,[a] being here as ambassador, did me disservice, by having said what he did, and by taking up the topics which he took up. Supposing my confessor were the worst man in the world, yet, for the sake of giving the lie to the said ambassador, I should have kept him in my service, and made him a great prelate. So much the more being such a person, and so sufficient, as I believe your highness knows, since I have him in my service; and I hope to keep him all the time that I shall be able, if your highness may be thus served. If I believed not that your highness would hold him in the same office, as reason is, I should think myself much annoyed and disfavoured by your highness.

My mistress, Janina de Cuer, my chamberlain, with my other servants, set off from hence to their homes. I commanded to pay them all their salaries, in the form and quantity as every year the same officials are paid in the house of your highness: to Alonzo de Esquivel for six years, and to all the others for eight; and all the help I gave them was for the service of your highness, besides other things which by my command they have received from my chamber; this not for the service which they have done me, but only for that your highness had com-

[a] Guter Gomez de Fuensalida. See letter of Ferdinand to Henry 7, May 11th, 1509. Cotton. MS. Vesp. C. XII. fol. 284.

manded them to come here. Wherefore, if you should wonder at the boldness of them, and of the ambassador, I would supplicate your highness to command to chastise him and them; but afterwards, by reason that they can call themselves mine, I supplicate your highness to pardon them, commanding that they should be regarded as persons who have been in my house.

Our Lord keep the life and royal estate of your highness, and increase it, according to my desire. From Greenwich, the 29th of July.

The humble servant of your highness,
who kisses your hands,
THE QUEEN.

I supplicate your highness to do me so signal a favour as to send to the king my lord three horses, —one a jennet, and the other from Naples, and the other a Sicilian; because he desires them much, and has asked me to beg your highness for them: in which I shall receive a great favour from your highness; and also to command them to be sent by the first messenger that comes here.

To the most high and most puissant
lord the King, my lord.

Endorsed, in Spanish, "To his highness, from the Queen of England, the 22d of July 1509."

LETTER LIX.

Catherine of Aragon, Queen of Henry VIII., to her Father, Ferdinand II.

[EGERTON MS. 616, FOL. 34. *Holograph Spanish.*]

Most high and most puissant lord,

I have received your highness' letter which Calderon brought me, and I did all that by it your highness commanded me; and since now your highness knows what sort of servant the old man is, and how well he has acted here, I supplicate you that it may please you to send to change the office which he holds, since now he is not at a fit age to serve as quarter-master, or as inferior officer[a] of your highness, and command him to have the favour of an office which he may hold as long as he lives, since he deserves it so well, in order that he may also have rest; which I shall receive as a most signal favour, for the value I entertain for him.

Our Lord preserve the life and most royal estate of your highness, and increase it as I desire.

From Greenwich, the 26th of June.

The humble servant of your highness,
who kisses your hands,
THE QUEEN.

To the most high and powerful lord the King, my lord.

[a] *Agucyl*, probably for *Alguacil.*

LETTER LX.

Queen Catherine of Aragon to Mr. Almoner Wolsey. A.D. 1513.

[WOLSEY PAPERS, VOL. VII. NO. 49, STATE PAPER OFFICE. *Original.*]

*** In the year 1513 queen Catherine of Aragon was appointed regent of England, by a commission dated June 11th,[a] previously to the departure of Henry VIII. for France. In the following August that monarch won the battle of the Spurs, in which the duke de Longueville was taken prisoner. The present letter was written by the queen-regent in reference to the guardianship of this important state-captive. The allusion to the Scots will be explained when it is remembered that only a week afterwards was fought the celebrated battle of Flodden Field, which reflected such glory on the brief regency of Catherine of Aragon.[b]

Master almoner,

I received your letter by the post, whereby I understand of the coming hither of the duke, and how the king is content that he shall be in my household. Touching this matter, I have spoken with the council to look and appoint what company shall be meet to attend upon him. Here

[a] Rymer, vol. xiii. p 370.

[b] This letter follows in date one written to Wolsey on the 25th of August, the original of which is in Cotton. MS. Calig. D. VI. fol. 94, and which has been printed in Ellis' Letters, 1st series, vol. i. p. 84, and Strickland's Queens, vol. iv. p. 92, and precedes her letter to the king of Sept. 16. Original Cotton. MS. Vesp. F. III. fol. 15, printed in Hearne's Sylloge Epistolarum, p. 106; Burnet's Reformation, vol. iii. App. p. 7; Ellis' Letters, 1st series, vol. i. p. 88; and Strickland's Queens, vol. iv. p. 93. Her letter to Wolsey of the same date has been printed by Ellis, 1st series, vol. ii. p. 19, and in Galt's appendix to Wolsey's life, No. II. from the original, Calig. D. VI. fol. 35. The present letter has not been previously published.

is none that is good for it but my lord Mountjoy, who now goeth to Calais as chief captain of the 500 men. And for this cause, and also that I am not so well accompanied as were convenient for his keeping here, it is thought to me and my council that it should be better the said duke be, as soon as he cometh, conveyed to the Tower; specially the Scots being so busy as they now be, and I looking for my departing every hour, it should be a great incumbrance to me to have this prisoner here; seeing that, according to the king's mind, he must be conveyed to the Tower at my going forward. I pray you shew this to the king, and with the next messenger send me an answer of his pleasure.

Mr. Almoner, I am sorry, knowing that I have been always so bound unto you, that now you shall think that I am miscontent without a cause, seeing that my servant asked of you no letter, nor brought you none from me. The cause was, that two days before I wrote unto you by Copinger, and at that time I had nothing farther to write,—and with my servant's unwise demeanour I am nothing well content; for one of the greatest comforts that I have now is to hear, by your letters, of the king's health and of all your news. And so I pray you, Mr. Almoner, to continue as hitherto you have done: for I promise you that from henceforth you shall lack none of mine, and before this you should have had many more, but I think that your business scantly giveth you leisure to read my letters. From

hence I have nothing to write to you more than I am sure the council informeth the king; praying God to send us as good luck against the Scots, as the king hath there.

At Richmond, the 2d day of September.

CATHERINE THE QUEEN,

To Master Almoner.

LETTER LXI.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to her Brother, King Henry VIII. A.D. 1514.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 164. *Original.*]

*** There is, perhaps, no lady connected with the royalty of England or Scotland, if we except Mary queen of Scots, who has left such a mass of correspondence, great part of it autograph, as queen Margaret of Scotland. The prominent position she so long occupied, the strange vicissitudes of fortune she encountered, and the natural impetuosity of her temper, imbue her letters with great historical interest, variety of incident, and personal character. As, however, the editor intends at some future time to present a connected biography of this lady, the introductions to her letters will be brief, only just serving to render intelligible the circumstances under which they were written.

Queen Margaret was the eldest daughter of Henry VII., and married when very young to James IV. of Scotland, whose melancholy death at the battle of Flodden Field left her a young widow with an infant son of eighteen months old, and the prospect of approaching maternity. Margaret aroused her energies, assembled the three estates of the kingdom, and had her son crowned, and herself appointed regent with the aid of four councillors. The following spring she gave birth to a posthumous infant, who was called Alexander. But in the month of August, before a year had elapsed after the death of the king, she rashly gave her hand in marriage to Archibald Douglas, earl of

Angus, one of the nobles who formed her council, without asking the advice of the rest of the nobility, or even of her brother, Henry VIII. of England. With equal recklessness she deprived the archbishop of Glasgow of the chancellor's seals for opposing her union, and raised the members of the house of Douglas to all places of trust in her power. This conduct, of course, met with violent opposition, which was headed by the earl of Arran; and he and his party threatened to call in the duke of Albany, who, after the queen's children, was next heir to the throne, and to make him regent.[a] Against this proceeding the queen earnestly remonstrates in the present letter to her brother. She had previously withdrawn from Edinburgh, where she had held an ineffectual conference with the lords, to her dower castle of Stirling.[b]

REGINA.

Right high and mighty prince and dearest brother,

I commend me to you with all mine heart. I have received your loving and comfortable writings from a man of the lord Dacre's, the 22d day of November, wherein I perceive your fraternal love and kindness. I and my party were in great trouble of mind, till we knew what help you would do to us. I have shewn the said writings to all my lords which were with me in my castle of Stirling the said day, whereof they were greatly comforted. My party-adversary continues in their malice and proceeds in their parliament, usurping the king's authority, as I and my lords were of no reputation, reputing us as rebels; wherefore I beseech you that you would make haste with your army, both

[a] Lesley, de rebus gestis Scotorum, pp. 367–374.

[b] Letter from lord Dacre to the privy council, date 23d Nov. 1514. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. I. fol. 154.

by sea and land, and in especial on the chamberlain,[a] which is post of this conspiration, for within this se'nnight he took an escheat of a bastardry, to the value in ready money of ten thousand pounds, of usual course of Scotland, to his own use, as (though) he had the whole authority. On that other side the prior of Saint Andrew's,[b] with the power of my contrary party, has laid siege to the castle of Saint Andrew's, which I would that your navy would revenge; for it stands on the sea-side foreagainst Berwick by north. I have sent my husband to break the siege, if he may, this 23d day. I am at great expenses—every day a thousand in wages, and my money is near hand wasted; if you send not the sooner other succours of men or money, I shall be super-expended, which were to my dishonour: for I can get no answer of my rents, as I shewed you before.

All the hope that my party adversary hath is in the duke of Albany's coming, which I beseech you to let in any wise; for if he happen to come before your army, I doubt that some of my party will incline to him for dread. I shall keep this castle with my children till I hear from you. There is some of the lords that dread that your army shall do them scathe, and that their lands shall be destroyed with the fury of the army: wherefore I would that you wrote to them that their lands nor goods shall not be hurt, and, if so be,

[a] John lord Fleming. [b] John Hepburn.

that they shall be recompensed double and treble. The king, my son, and his brother, prospers well, and are right lifelike children; thanked be Almighty God.

It is told me that the Lord's adversaries are purposed to siege me in this castle. I would, therefore, that the chamberlain were holden waking in the mean time with the borderers. I trow that I shall defend me well enough from the others till the coming of the army. I pray you to give credence to master Adam Williamson in other things as it is written to him, and thank him for his good service, and the peril that he was in for my sake in the ship that was broken, with other three ships that I have word since that, departing of Scotland afore his ship, with a message to the duke of Albany, wherein was Lion the herald, with other messages direct from these lords adversaries, with letters sealed with the great seal, which seal they keep masterfully from me and my lords, and use it as they were kings. I trust that God is on my party, which letted their message, and furthered mine. I have given Saint Andrew's to the apostolate of Arbroath, my husband's uncle,[a] wherefore I would that you letted all other competitors that labour the contrary in Rome, and that you would direct to the pope's holiness upon the same with the next that you send, and that you would direct writings to me each month, at the least, how you will do, and

[a] Gavin Douglas. John Hepburn, the late prior, who had been elected by the canons, was supported by the opposing party.

what you would that I did; and if my party-adversary counterfeit any letters in my name, or if they compel me to write to you for concord, the subscription shall be but thus—MARGARET R. and no more, and trust that such writing is not my will.

Brother, all the welfare of me and my children lies in your hands, which I pray Jesus to help and keep eternally to his pleasure.

At Stirling, the 23d day of November.

Your loving sister,

MARGARET R.

To the right high and mighty prince and our dearest brother, the King of England.

LETTER LXII.

Mary, Daughter of Henry VII., to her future Husband, Louis XII. of France.

[BETHUNE MSS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU ROI, PARIS.[a] *Holograph French.*]

*** The history of Mary queen of France, younger daughter of Henry VII., is one of the most adventurous and romantic of the sixteenth century. She was in early life betrothed to Charles prince of Castile, afterwards the celebrated Charles V. A curious and detailed Latin account of the ceremonials of the betrothment is to be found among the Douce MSS.,[b] in which "the splendid beauty of the princess, the modesty and gravity with which she bore herself, and the laudable and princely gestures discerned in her," are recorded with an

[a] The number of the Bethune MS. from which these letters are extracted has been unfortunately lost, so that a more distinct reference to them cannot at present be made. They are both in the same MS., the second occurring at folio 7.

[b] No. 198. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

enthusiastic admiration rarely called forth by a child eleven years old.[a] The "solemnities and triumphs" made in London on this joyful occasion formed the subject of a black-letter tract, printed by R. Pynson.[b] But though Mary bore for many years the title of princess of Castile, and though Charles wrote to her several times as his wife,[c] the marriage never took effect, obstacles being thrown in the way by the friends of the bridegroom. Charles lived bitterly to regret his loss; for when years had rolled away and he visited the court of Henry VIII., and saw his former betrothed radiant in beauty, the happy wife of an English noble, he was so moved that he refused to dance at the court-ball given in his honour, and sat the whole evening silently and moodily apart.

Early in 1514, Henry VIII. negotiated a political marriage for his beautiful sister with Louis XII. of France, a monarch fast sinking into old age and decrepitude; but who had become violently enamoured of the princess from a portrait of her which had been sent to him.[d] Though Mary's affections had been previously entangled by her brother's favourite courtier, Charles duke of Suffolk,[e] yet she had no option but that of submitting with a good grace to a union which, in every respect save that of rank, was so utterly unsuitable. On the 2d of Sept. 1514, the marriage was solemnised by proxy at the church

[a] Folio 155.

[b] The extreme rarity of this tract has induced the Bannatyne Club to issue a reprint of it in fac-simile. Unfortunately, two or more pages of it are missing, and are believed to have entirely perished.

[c] Douce MS. 193, fol. 167. One of these letters is preserved in the Cottonian MS. Galba, B. III. fol. 93.

[d] Grove's Life of Wolsey, vol. ii. p. 242.

[e] During Mary's contract with Charles of Castile, Brandon, then viscount Lisle, was flirting with Margaret, archduchess of Savoy, whom he met when with Henry VIII. at Tournay and Lisle, and a match between them was confidently rumoured.—HALL'S *Chronicle*, edit. 1548, fol. 448. In Cotton. MS. Titus, B. I. fol. 142 et seq., are translations in the handwriting of Sir Richard Wingfield of two very curious letters, addressed probably to himself, by a lady who signs M., giving the details of a love-affair between herself and a "personage" whose suit was favoured by Henry VIII. The writer of these letters has been hitherto believed to have been one of the four wives of Charles Brandon, but many points of internal evidence, too long to be entered into here, identify them as the production of the archduchess Margaret.

of the Celestins at Paris; Charles earl of Worcester acting as Mary's proxy, and taking, in the name of "this very redoubted lady," Louis "for her husband and spouse, to obey, &c., during her natural life."[a] The very same day Louis wrote to Wolsey, earnestly pressing that his queen might be sent to him immediately, and repeated his request in a long letter a few days afterwards.[b] He also addressed affectionate epistles to Mary; and she, as in duty bound, wrote to him in reply.

The two following letters, which are entirely in her own hand, were sent by her to him. The first was written after the signing of the contract in England, which was done on the 7th of August, 1514,[c] and before the departure of the earl of Worcester to France, at the latter end of the same month; the second, probably, about a month later. A third is also in existence, in the Cottonian collection;[d] but, as it has been printed in the original French by Sir Henry Ellis, in his Historical Letters,[e] it is not given here. Mary's French is good, and her penmanship distinct; very different from that of the hurried and almost illegible scrawls which some of her later and more familiar letters present.

My lord,

Humbly, with good grace, I recommend me. Because the king, my lord and brother, presently sends his ambassadors to you, I have desired, ordered, and charged my cousin, the earl of Worcester, to tell you some things from me touching the espousals now spoken of between you and me. So I beseech you, my lord, to honour and believe him as myself; and I assure you, my lord, as I have before written and signified to you by my cousin the

[a] Contract of espousals. Original. Liasse I, 650, No. 10, Archives du Royaume, Hôtel Soubise, Paris.

[b] Both these letters are translated in Grove's Life of Wolsey, vol. ii. pp. 242, 243.

[c] The original contract, with the signatures and seals in fine preservation, is among the Archives du Royaume, Paris. Liasse I. 650.

[d] Vitellius, B. XI. fol. 156 b.

[e] First series, vol. i. p. 113.

duke de Longueville, that the thing which I now most desire and wish is to hear good news of your health and good prosperity, as my cousin the earl of Worcester will tell you more fully. It will please you, moreover, my lord, to use and command me according to your good and agreable pleasure, that I may obey and please you, by the help of God; who give you, my lord, good and long life.

By the hand of your very humble companion,

MARY.

LETTER LXIII.

Mary, Daughter of Henry VII., to her future Husband, Louis XII. of France. A.D. 1514.

[BETHUNE MSS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU ROI, PARIS. *Holograph French.*]

Sir,

Very humbly I recommend me to your good grace. I have received the letters which it has pleased you to write to me with your own hand, and heard what my cousin the duke de Longueville has told me from you, in which I have taken great joy, felicity, and pleasure; for which, and for the honour which it has pleased you to do to me, I hold myself ever indebted and obliged to you, and thank you as cordially as I can. And because by my cousin you will hear how all things have taken their end and conclusion, and the very singular desire that I have to see you and to be in your company, I forbear to

write to you a longer letter, praying for the rest, sire, our Creator to give you health and long life.

By the hand of your humble companion,

MARY.

LETTER LXIV.

Mary Queen of France to her Brother, Henry VIII.

A.D. 1514.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. III. 4, FOL. 60, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Original.*]

*** On the 2d of October, 1514, Mary set sail from England and landed at Boulogne. The particulars of her arrival, marriage, journey to Paris, coronation, &c., are recorded in three contemporaneous MS. French chronicles with a minute detail, of which only a brief outline can be given here.[a] To these may be added a fourth black-letter printed chronicle, entitled "Les grandes Croniques de Bretagne," the writer of which was evidently an eye-witness of the scenes he describes. Mary was attended by a long array of English nobles and servants. "I assure you," says one of our chroniclers, "that she did not come like a lady of little consequence, for she was accompanied by great princes and ladies, and great personages; and, among others, the principal were my lord chamberlain, the duke of Suffolk, the duke of Norfolk and his wife, and a great number of ladies and damsels, &c." *En route* from Boulogne to Abbeville she was joined by the duke of Bretagne and Angoulême, afterwards Francis I., who, though he had little reason to rejoice in an event which hazarded his hopes of succession to the French throne, received the young queen with a courtesy which his passionate admiration of her grace and beauty afterwards fanned into a warmer and less justifiable feeling. The queen travelled towards Abbeville, splendidly attired, and mounted on a white palfrey; but as she neared the city she was met by her impatient bridegroom, who, on the pretence of

[a] Chronique de Louis XII. et François I. par Robert de la March. MS. 1098 Fonds St. Victor. Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris. Journal de ce qui est passé dans France depuis l'an 1513 jusques à l'an 1517, MS. 9707, Fonds Colbert. Histoire de France de l'an 1514 jusqu'à l'an 1521, MS. 96, Fonds Oratoire.

going out to hunt, had ridden forth to obtain an earlier interview. When they met, the monarch kissed his bride, and whispered to her "five or six good and honest words."

Mary was married at Abbeville, in the large hall of the temporary abode of Louis.[a] Her attire was of the most gorgeous character. Her flowing hair, which hung in rich masses on her neck and shoulders, was confined by a coronal of glittering gems, the richest in Europe; but she wore no crown, that being unusual with the queens of France until after their formal coronation.

Amidst all these splendours, however, Mary was not without her share of sorrows. The day after her marriage Louis dismissed the whole of her attendants; whose loss, especially that of "mother Guildford," her confidential friend and adviser, she keenly felt.[b] The duke of Suffolk, who was on his way to Paris when he heard of this affair, wrote to Wolsey about it, attributing it entirely to the machinations of the duke of Norfolk and his son, whose jealousy had been aroused because these attendants upon the young queen were entirely selected by Wolsey and Suffolk.[c] From the time of her marriage, Mary seems to have treated her husband with all due conjugal respect. Her lover, Suffolk, assures king Henry, in one of his letters, that "there was never queen in France that had demeaned herself more honourably and wiselier; and so," he adds, "say all the noblemen in France that have seen her demeanour, the which lacked not to speak of it; and as for the king, there was never man that set his mind more upon woman than he does on her, because she demeans herself so winning unto him."[d]

At the request of her husband, Mary wrote from Abbeville the two following letters to the king her brother.

My most kind and loving brother,

I heartily recommend me unto you. Pleaseth it your grace to understand that my lord the king hath

[a] Lanson, Histoire Généalogique des Contes de Ponthieu et mayeurs d'Abbeville, p. 621.

[b] Mary to Henry VIII., October 12th. Cotton. MS. Calig. D. VI. fol. 253. Ellis' Letters, 1st series, vol. i. p. 115.

[c] Suffolk to Wolsey, October 20th. Calig. D. VI. fol. 147.

[d] Letter of Suffolk to Henry VIII. Ibid. fol. 149.

instantly desired me to write unto you, that it would please you, for his sake and mine, to send unto my lord Darcy, to deliver François Descars, upon a reasonable ransom, unto you; and that it would please your grace to pay his ransom for the time, and that he might be delivered unto your grace, you shortly to have the money again, after that word is of his deliverance, or else he not to return as hither. Furthermore, the duke of Bretagne, otherwise called the dauphin, hath divers seasons moved me to write to your grace for the said François, forasmuch as he is one of his servants; the which to do I made him promise, and to the duke of Longueville also: for I assure your grace they made me and the noblemen of my company great cheer, from Bologne forth; as the duke of Norfolk, the lord marquis, with other noble men, can inform your grace. These premises considered, I beseech your grace to desire the lord Darcy to deliver, upon as little a ransom as reasonably may be, his said prisoner; for, as I am credibly informed here, he is but a poor gentleman. Now somewhat I would that my lord the king, (and) the both dukes to whom I am much bound, should think he should be the more favoured for my sake. When this man is delivered, I beseech you to send word by the bringer of this, or some other, what his ransom is, which I pray God may be reasonable and little, who preserve your grace. Amen.

From Abbeville, the 18th day of October, by your very loving sister,

MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE.

To my most kind and loving brother the king's grace of England.

LETTER LXV.

Mary Queen of France to her Brother, Henry VIII.
A.D. 1514.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. III. 4, FOL. 61, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Original.*]

My most kind and loving brother,

I heartily recommend me to you, certifying your grace that, since my departing from you, I have sent you divers letters, and as yet I have had no manner word from your grace, whereof in part I marvel, considering that certain letters be come from your grace hither. I trust, though I be far from you, that your grace will not forget me; but that I shall shortly hear from you, whereof I heartily desire you. And whereas I have written unto your grace touching the deliverance of a prisoner which my lord Darcy hath, I beseech you that his ransom might be as favourable, and driven to as small a sum as might be; assuring your grace that, trusting that favour should be showed him, my lord

the king, at the instance of the duke of Bretagne and the duke of Longueville, hath sent this week his letters unto Boulogne, that divers of your subjects, being prisoners there, should be delivered, after the custom of the sea. As for 200 marks, or 250 marks, I hear say they would be content to give, or else to continue still;[a] which, I trust to God and you, shall not be, who preserve your grace. Amen.

Written at Abbeville, the 20th day of October,

By your loving sister,

MARY.

To my most kind and loving brother the King of England.

LETTER LXVI.

Mary Queen of France to Nicolas de Cerisay.

A.D. 1514.

[LIASSE, K. 81, NO. 5, ARCHIVES DU ROYAUME, HÔTEL SOUBISE, PARIS. *Original French.*]

*** The coronation of the young queen took place at St. Denis on the 5th of November. Francis of Valois, duke of Bretagne and Angoulême, presented the customary offering to the king; and his wife, Claude of France, daughter to Louis by his late queen Anne of Bretagne, performed the same office, though less cheerfully, for Mary. "I assure you," says our MS. chronicler,[b] "that I know well that the said lady Claude had marvellously great regret, for it was but a

[a] To remain still in prison.

[b] Chronique de Louis XII. MS. 1098. St. Victor.

little while since her mother had died, and yet she was now compelled to perform the service which was accustomed to be done for the queen her mother." The entry into Paris took place the following day. Mary travelled in a litter, attired in cloth of gold and loaded with jewels. The streets of the city were lined with tapestry. Every civic and mercantile order of the Parisians came out to meet her, and at every convenient place were prepared "*mysteries*," or allegorical representations, for her amusement. That at the fountain of the Ponceau represented the queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon, Louis and Mary being, of course, allegorised in the principal *dramatis personæ*. At the palace gates were a troop of shepherds and shepherdesses, surrounding emblematic figures of France, Truth and Peace, who chanted a song, comparing the young queen, by whose means peace had been made between France and England, to the Virgin Mary, who brought the gift of peace to mankind.[a] The University of Paris offered her its most elaborate adulation; the grave and learned professors and doctors addressing her as their "most Christian mother," and speaking of the university as her "eldest daughter."[b]

The following is the only official document issued by Mary as queen-consort of France which is now in existence. It is marked by that amiable and affectionate consideration for her ladies and attendants who had been unceremoniously dismissed which characterises several of the succeeding epistles. The silence preserved respecting the names of the ladies was probably occasioned by the jealousy with which Louis had regarded several of them.

Mary, by the grace of God queen of France, to our beloved and faithful counsellor Nicolas de Cerisay, treasurer and receiver-general of our finances.

We will and command you, that from the money of your receipts you pay, discharge, and deliver to our well-beloved William Verner, goldsmith, dwelling * * * * * at London, and being at

[a] Cérémonial François, par Théodore et Denis Godefroi, sub anno 1514.

[b] Histoire de France, 1514–1521. MS. 96, Oratoire.

present in this country, the sum of 600 crowns of soleil gold, worth 38 sols 6 deniers Tournois apiece, being equal to the sum of 1155 livres Tournois, which we have ordered him, and order by these present, for the payment of a polished ruby and an emerald, enchased in a golden cross, weighing ten ounces and a half, worth two hundred crowns soleil; a fine diamond and two sapphires, enchased in a golden collar, weighing two marks, three ounces, and three quarters, worth 300 crowns soleil; and for another table-diamond, chased in a pendent *agnus Dei* of gold, weighing six ounces and half a quarter, worth 100 crowns soleil; which he has given and delivered on the other side the sea, we being on this side, by our command and ordinance, to some ladies and damsels of the said country of England, nearly related to us, whom we do not wish to be named or otherwise mentioned here; and to whom we have made gift and present of the aforesaid rings and jewels. And at sight of these present, signed with our hand, with quittance of the said William Verner, goldsmith, aforesaid, alone, we wish the said sum of 600 golden crowns soleil aforesaid to be allowed in your accounts, and abated from your receipts by our dear and well-beloved the clerks of the exchequer of my lord the king, to whom we command also to do it without difficulty: for such is our pleasure, notwithstanding any ordinances, restrictions, orders, or prohibitions to the contrary.

Given at Paris, November 2d, 1514.

LETTER LXVII.

Mary Queen of France to Archbishop Wolsey.
A.D. 1514.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. III. 4, FOL. 57, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Original.*]

My lord,

I heartily recommend me unto you, desiring you for my sake to be good lord to my servant John Palsgrave, and provide for him some living that he may continue at school. If he had been retained in my service, I would have done for him gladly myself, but since he was put out of my service, I willed him to come to Paris, partly because I trust verily that you will provide for him (that) he may be able to continue, and also because I intend myself somewhat to do for him. Howbeit, because my estate is not yet made, I wot not how much. I shall be glad to help him that he shall not need to come home. Praying you heartily not to forget him. Commending you, my lord, to God, who have you in his keeping.

At Paris, the 13th day of November.

MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE.

To my lord of York.

LETTER LXVIII.

Mary Queen of France to her Brother, King Henry VIII. A.D. 1514.

[COTTON. MS. VESPASIAN, F. III. ART. 48, FOL. 41. *Holograph.*]

My most kind and loving brother,

I recommend me unto your grace as heartily as I can, and I thank your grace for your kind letters, and for your good counsel, the which I trust to our Lord God I shall follow every day more and more. How lovingly the king my husband dealeth with me, the lord chamberlain, with other of your ambassadors, can clearly inform your grace, whom I beseech your grace heartily to thank for their great labours and pains that they have taken as here for me; for I trust they have made a substantial and a perfect end. As touching mine almoner, I thank your grace for him, Of his demeanour here your grace shall be informed better than I can write; as knoweth our Lord Jesu, who preserve your grace. Amen.

From Paris, the 15th day of November, by your loving sister,

MARY.

To the King my brother.

all his pro
used by s
lord an
for my sake
you, and
for you
lord and
of England.
LETTE
Dowager
Henry

LETTER LXIX.

Mary Queen of France to her Brother, Henry VIII.
A.D. 1514.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, D. VI. FOL. 145. *Original French.*]

*** Almost the whole of Mary's correspondence, while she enjoyed the short-lived dignity of queen-consort of France, affords proof of the amiableness of her disposition, and the benevolence with which she was glad to exert her influence in behalf of the oppressed and the sorrowful. The present letter is another specimen of the same kindly feeling.

My very dear lord and brother,

I recommend myself most humbly to your good grace, praying you to accept my recommendations in behalf of a poor honest man, Mr. Vincent Knight, who has always dwelt and remained in your kingdom since he came in with our late dearest lord and father, whom God absolve. The poor man has made several voyages over here during the wars, by command of your privy-council,[a] which had promised him a benefice. This they have not granted, but, in lieu of it, have had him put into prison in your city of Tournay, whilst you were there, where he remained seven weeks, and was then taken prisoner to England; where he has been in your prison of the Fleet, without any veritable cause, for the space of forty-four weeks, and has

[a] *Conseil estrout* are the words thus translated. The letter was evidently penned by a French secretary ignorant of English affairs.

lost and spent all his property in prison, as we have been duly advertised by some of our especial servants in England.

My dearest lord and brother, I pray you earnestly, both for my sake, as a reward of the services he has done you, and that he may more eagerly supplicate God for you and me,[a] to do him some good, and, if it please you, to command the bishop of York[b] to have his money restored to him and to be gracious to him. By so doing you will bestow great charity and alms. Praying our Lord God to give you, my most honoured lord and brother, a good and long life.

From Paris, the 17th day of November.

By your good sister,

MARY.

To my very dear lord and brother the King of England.

LETTER LXX.

Mary Queen-Dowager of France to her Brother, Henry VIII. A.D. 1515.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, D. VI. FOL. 251. *Holograph.*]

*** The feelings with which Henry VIII. regarded the marriage of his favourite sister with his no less favoured friend and courtier the

[a] The original phraseology is odd, "Et a ce quil soit plus *curieux* de prier Dieu pour vous et moy."

[b] The archbishop of York, Wolsey, is doubtless the person meant.

duke of Suffolk, have been the subject of some doubt and apparent contradiction. A careful comparison of the dates of the correspondence on the subject, together with the discovery of some hitherto unnoticed letters scattered among the unsorted Exchequer historical documents, render this perplexed subject clear, and at the same time develope the motives which induced so precipitate a step on the part of the princess.

It seems that the condition on which Mary had consented to espouse Louis of France was, that on his decease, to which the ovely young princess looked forward as a deliverance from thraldom, she should be permitted to marry as she pleased. Such a pledge from king Henry, when, as she herself asserts more than once, he "knew well the good mind she bore to my lord of Suffolk,"[a] was a tacit consent to her marriage with her lover when the death of her sickly, and aged, and unloved royal spouse should set her at liberty. Louis XII. expired, only eighty-two days after his marriage, on the 1st of January, 1515. Henry VIII., with the reckless levity which characterised so many of his actions, had allowed the duke of Suffolk to follow Mary to France in the quality of ambassador; and he had so insinuated himself into the favour of the unsuspecting Louis, that he was constantly admitted to his society and that of the queen. He returned to England for a short time, but again, on the death of Louis, succeeded in obtaining an appointment as chief of the embassy to condole with the queen and negotiate public affairs with Francis I.

Mary was so strongly suspected of a design to pledge herself to Brandon, that, even during the last illness of Louis XII., Wolsey wrote her a monitory epistle, cautioning her against entering into any matrimonial pledge in case of his decease.[b] To this letter she sent a reply, written on her becoming a widow, full of expressions of regard to the king and his council, and assuring the cardinal that she was not "in such childhood" as so to commit herself. This letter bears date from Paris, the 10th of January, 1515.[c] The princess had taken the alarm, however, lest her long-cherished hopes should be

[a] Letter of Mary to Henry VIII. Miscellaneous Exchequer documents, 1st series, No. 1213.

[b] Cotton MS. Caligula, D. VI. fol. 268. Draught entirely in Wolsey's hand, but considerably damaged by fire.

[c] The original is in the Cottonian MS. Vespasian, F. XIII. art. 224. It is printed in Sir Henry Ellis' Historical Letters, 1st series, vol. i. p. 119.

frustrated, and she wrote the two following letters to her brother, professing her willingness to abide by his will, but earnestly urging the fulfilment of his promise to permit her to marry for love if ever she took a second husband. Unfortunately, these letters, with most of the others on the same subject, have been much burnt at the edges in the Cottonian fire. The blanks are in some instances conjecturally supplied by words placed within crotchets.

Mine own good and most kind brother,

I recommend me unto your grace, and thank you for the good and kind letters that you have sent me, the which has been the greatest comfort might be unto me in this world, desiring your grace so for to continue, for there is nothing so great a store [to] me as for to see you, the which I would very fain have the time for to come, as I trust it shall be, or else I would be very sorry, for I think every day a thousand till I may see you.

Sire, whereas your grace sends me word that I will not give no credence [to the]m for no suit, nor for no other words that shall be given me; sire, I promise your grace that I never made them no promise, nor no other fo[r the]m, nor never will [until] that I know your [grace's mind] for nobody alive; for [your grace] is all the comfort t[hat I have] in this world; [and I trus]t your grace w[ill not] fail, for I have noth[ing in this] world that I care for but to have the good and [kind] mind that your grace had ever toward me, [which] I beseech your grace to continue, for therein is my trust that I have in this

world. Sire, as for the letter that your grace did send me by [Master] Clinton, whereas you send m[e word] that I should provide myself [and make] me ready for to come to your grace; sire, an it were to-morrow I would be ready: and, as for my lord of Suffolk, and Sir Richard [Wingfield], and Doctor West, there be two or [three th]at came from the k[ing m]y son[a] for to have [brought the]m to him by the w[ay as they] came hitherward, [and so hindere]d them coming [hithe]rward that th * * * * * * * as I trust shall c[onclude in] a day or two, and then [let me] know your mind, for an when I do, I will do therafter.

Sire, I beseech your grace for to be good lord to Mr. John, your surgeon, for my sake, and that you will not be miscontented with him for his long tarrying here with me, for I bore him an [ha]nd[b] that your grace were contented that he should be here with me awhile; and so I pray your grace to give him leave for to tarry here awhile with me, for because I am very ill-diseased with the toothache, and the mother[c] withal, that some times I wot not

[a] Francis I., the son-in-law of Louis XII., adopted this title towards his widow.

[b] If this conjectural reading be correct, the phrase is equivalent to "I gave him my hand upon it."

[c] This is the ancient term for the disease called *globus hystericus*. It is thus used by Shakspeare,—

"*Lear*. Oh, how this *mother* swells up toward my heart!
Hysterica passio! down, thou climbing sorrow,
Thy element's below!"—*King Lear*, Act ii. Scene 4.

what for to do; but [an I] might see your grace I were he[aled]. No more to you at this [time], but I pray God [to send] your grace good [life and long].

By your loving [sister],

MARY.

To the king's grace my brother this be delivered.

LETTER LXXI.

Mary Queen-Dowager of France to her Brother, Henry VIII. A.D. 1515.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, D. VI. FOL. 249. *Holograph, much burnt.*]

[In my] most kind and [loving wise I] recommend me unto your grace. I would be very glad to hear that your grace were in good health and p[eace], the which should be a great comfort to me, and that it will please your grace to send more oft time to me than you do, for as now I am all out of comfort, saving that all my trust is in your grace, and so shall be during my life. Sire, I pray your grace that it will please your grace to be so good lord and brother to me that you will send hither as soon as you may possibly hither to me. Sire, I beseech your grace that you will keep all the promises that you promised me when I took my leave of you by

the w[ater s]ide. Sire, your grace knoweth well that I did marry for your pl[easure a]t this time, and now I trust that you will suffer me to [marry as]me l[iketh fo]r to do ;[a] for, sire, I k[now that yo]u shall have * * * * * * * * s that they * * * for I assure your grace that [my mi]nd is not there where they would have me, and I trust [your grace] will not do so to me that has always been so glad to fulfil your mind as I have been: wherefore I beseech your grace for to be good lord and brother to me; for, sire, an if your grace will have gran[ted] me married in any place, [sav]ing whereas my mind is, I will be there, whereas your grace nor no other shall have any joy of me: for, I promise your grace, you shall hear that I will be in some religious house, the which I think your grace would be very sorry of, and all your realm. Also, sire, I know well that the king, that is [my so]n, will send to your grace by his uncle the duke of * * * for to ma[rry me here, but I tru]st you[r grace * * * * * * I sha]ll never be merry at my heart, (for an ever that I d[o marr]y while I live). I trow your grace knoweth as well as I do, and did before I came

[a] Grove, in his Life of Wolsey, vol. ii. p. 257, alluding to this letter, says that Mary wrote in the following manner: "That your grace well knows what I did as to my first marriage was for your pleasure, and now I trust you will suffer me to do what I like." It is probable that Grove, whose work was published in 1742, looked over Mary's letters before they suffered so much damage in the Cottonian fire in 1731.

hither, and so I trust your grace will be contented, unless I would never marry while I live, but be there where never [no] man nor woman shall have joy of me; wherefore I beseech your grace to be good lord to him and to me both, for I know well that he hath m[et ma]ny hinderances to your grace of him and me both. Wherefore, an your grace be good lord to us both, I will not care for all the world else, but beseech your grace to be good lord and brother to me, as you have been here aforetime, f[or in you] is all the trust that I have in this world after God. No m[ore from m]e at this [time], God send your grace [long life an]d your heart's de[sires]

By your humble and loving sister,

MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE.

To the King my brother this be delivered, in haste.

LETTER LXXII.

Mary Queen-Dowager of France to her Brother, Henry VIII. A.D. 1515.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, D. VI. FOL. 244. *Holograph, much injured by fire.*]

*** The young queen-dowager soon found herself most painfully situated, owing to the impassioned but dishonourable addresses of Francis I., who, though he was already married to the princess Claude, daughter of Louis by his first wife, Anne of Bretagne, and therefore addressed the widow of his father-in-law as his mother, was yet madly

enamoured of the English princess. This fact is hinted at by several French historians, and is distinctly stated by both Mary and the duke of Suffolk in their letters to the English court; and it was no doubt the cause why Francis endeavoured to detain her in France by a foreign marriage, as alluded to in the preceding letter.

Pressed by perils so immediate, distressed by the wavering which she perceived in her brother's council, whose jealousy of the duke of Suffolk led them to fear the increase of his ascendency should this marriage take place, and harassed by a report, which reached her from several quarters, that there was a design on foot in England to marry her into Flanders, and that the duke of Suffolk was sent over to entice her thither, Mary took the bold resolution of at once contracting a private union with her lover. Though this was kept a profound secret, some rumours of the connexion got abroad, and caused the French king to make inquiries of Mary about it. Their interview is mentioned in the following letter, in which Mary pleads for license to contract the marriage with her already secretly wedded lord.

Pleaseth it your grace, the French [king], on Tuesday night last [past], came to visit me, and [had] with me many diverse [discoursin]g, among the which he demanded me whether I had [ever] made any promise of marriage in any place, assuring me upon his honour, and upon the word of a prince, that in case I would be plain [with] him in that affair, that he would do for me therein to the best of his power, whether it were in his realm or out of the same. Whereunto I answered, that I would disclose unto him the [secre]t of my heart in hu[mili]ty,[a] as unto the prince of the world after your grace in whom I had m[ost trust], and so declar[ed unto him] the good mind [which] for

[a] *You . . . ite* in original.

divers consi[derations I] bear to my lord of Suffolk, asking him not only [to grant] me his favour and consent thereunto, but [also] that he would of his [own] hand write unto your grace, and to pray you to bear your like favour unto me, and to be content with the same; the which he granted me to do, and so hath done, according as shall appear unto your grace by his said [letters]. And, sire, I most humbly beseech you to take this answer[a] which I have [made u]nto the French king in good part, the which [I did] only to be discharg[ed of t]he extreme pain and annoyance I was i[n, by reason] of such suit as t[he French kin]g made unt[o me not accord-i]ng with mine honour, [the whi]ch he hath clearly left [off]. Also, sire, I feared greatly [lest, in] case that I had kept the matter from his knowledge, that he might have not well entreated my said lord of Suffolk, and the rather [for] to have returned to his [former] malfantasy and suits. Wherefore, sire, [sinc]e it hath pleased the said king to desire and pray you of your favour and consent, I most humbly and heartily beseech you that it may like your grace to bear your favour and consent to the same, and to advertise the said king by your writing of your own hand of your pleasure, [and] in that he hath ac[ted after] mine opinion [in his] letter of request, [it] shall be to your great honour * * * nem to content w[ith all] your council, and [with] all the

[a] *Worthe* in original.

other no[bles of the] realm, and agr[ee thereto] for your grace a[nd for all] the world; and therefore I eftsoons requi[re you], for all the love that it liked your grace to bear me, that you do not refuse but grant me your favour and consent in form before rehearsed, the which if you shall deny me, I am well assured to [lead] as desolate a life as ever had creature, the which I know well shall be mine end. Always praying your grace to have compassion of me, my most loving and sovereign lord and [brother, where]unto I have [entreated] you, beseeching [God al]ways to [preserve your] most royal [estate. Written] at Paris the 15th day of February.

[I mo]st humbly beseech your grace to consider, in case that you make difficulty to condescend to the promises [as I] wish, the French king will take new courage to renew his suits to me; assuring you that I had rather to be out of the world than it so should happen; and how he shall entreat my lord of Suffolk, God knoweth, with many other inconvenience, which might ensue of the same, the which I pray our Lord that I may ne[ver ha]ve life to see.

By your loving sister and true servant,

MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE.

LETTER LXXIII.

Mary Queen-Dowager of France to Archbishop Wolsey. A.D. 1515.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, D. VI. FOL. 255. *Original, burnt at the edges.*]

*** Doctor Denton, the almoner of queen Mary, in whose behalf the present letter was written, was the only servant who seems to have been permitted to remain with her in France. She was sincerely attached to him, and retained him for many years in her service. On the same day on which the present letter was written, Mary wrote to Henry VIII. on the same subject, expressing some displeasure, as well as surprise, at the conduct of Wolsey in reference to the prebend withheld from her almoner, and requesting his interference.[a]

Most reverend father in God,

I recommend me unto you heartily, and I thank you for the great kindness that I have evermore found in you. My lord, I thank you also for your loving letters which you have sent me as hither, to my great comfort, and in especial for them which you have sent me now of late. My lord, you remember, I doubt not, that, at my last being at Guildford, you desired the king my brother to give unto my trusty and well-beloved almoner, doctor Denton, the prebend in St. Stephen's, which as then the dean of his chapel, and now bishop of

[a] Her letter is in the volume of Royal Letters, marked B. III. fol. 59, Rolls-house, date February 18th.

Lincoln, had in possession, as then the king's grace shewed me in your presence that he should have it, and also you promised me the same, and to solicit the king my brother for the performance of his promise. Nevertheless, I am credibly informed that my almoner is disappointed of the said prebend, and that your chaplain hath it, of the which I marvel greatly; forasmuch as my said almoner hath done me good service in this country, to the great honour of the king my brother, and mine also, and that the promise was made undesired of my behalf, for you were the person that only moved the king to give it unto my almoner, and I am assured that his grace would not have varied without he had been persuaded to the contrary.

My lord, forasmuch as I see you benevolent unto me in all my matters, and ever hath been since our first acquaintance, and now especially, I pray you, therefore, to do so much at mine instance and request, to desire your chaplain to resign the said prebend to the behoof and use of my said almoner; and I promise you that I will not cease *unto* (until) I have gotten some promotion of the king my brother, or else of some other person, for your said chaplain, which I trust shall be worth do[uble] the value of Saint Stephen's; and, besides that, I shall help that he may have the next prebend hereafter in Saint Stephen's. I pray you, my lord, send me word of your mind, and that [there be] none excuse made; for, I assure you, my lord, [my promise]

shall be without any excuse if God send me life; I [will not] say that word that I would not wilfully per[form, as] knoweth his grace. Amen.

From Paris, the 18th d[ay of February,]

By your loving friend,

MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE.

To the most reverend father in God
the Archbishop of York.

LETTER LXXIV.

Mary Queen-Dowager of France to Wolsey. A.D. 1515.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, D. VI. FOL. 254. *Holograph, much burnt.*]

*** After the interview between Mary and Francis, referred to in a preceding letter, the king had a conversation with Suffolk on the subject, which the duke thus details in a letter to Wolsey:—

"My lord, so it was that the same day that the French king gave us audience his grace called me unto him and had me into his bedchamber, and said unto me,—'My lord of Suffolk, so it is that there is a bruit in this my realm that you are come to marry with the queen your master's sister;' and when I heard him say so, I answered him and said 'that I trusted that his grace would not reckon so great folly in me to come into a strange realm and to marry a queen of the realm without his knowledge and without authority from the king my master to him, and that they both might be content; but I said I assured his grace that I had no such thing, and that it was never intended on the king my master's behalf nor on mine;' and then he said 'it was not so, for then (since) that I would not be plain with him, he would be plain with me,' and shewed me that the queen herself had broken her mind unto him, and that he had promised her his faith and truth, and by the truth of a king that he would help her, and to d[o what was possib]ly in him to help her to obtain [this that

she did desi]re, 'and because that you shall not th[ink that I do] bear you this in hand and that [she has not spo]ke her mind, I will s[hew you some wor]ds that you had to her [grace privily];' and so shewed me a *ware*-word,[a] the which none alive could tell then but she. And when that then I was abashed and he saw that, and said 'because for (that) you shall say that you have found a kind prince and a loving, and because you shall not think m[e other,] here I give you in your hand my faith and truth, by the word of a king, that I shall never fail unto you but to help and advance this matter betwixt her and you with as good a will as I would for mine own [self.]' And when he had done this I could do none less than to thank his grace for the great goodness that his grace intended to shew unto the queen and me, and by it I shewed his grace that I was like to be undone if this matter should come to the knowledge of the king my master: and then he said, 'Let me alone for that: I and the queen shall so instance your master that I trust that he would be content, and because I would gladly put your heart at rest, I will when I come to Paris speak with the queen, and she and I both will write letters to the king your master with our own hands, in the best manner that can be devised.'

"My lord, these were his proper words."[b]

Notwithstanding the opposition of some of his council, the king and Wolsey were, or professed to be, decidedly favourable to the union. In reply to Suffolk's communication, the cardinal assured him of his great joy thereat; that he had conversed with the king upon its contents; and adds, "his grace marvellously rejoiced to hear of your good speed in the same, and how substantially and discreetly you ordered and handled yourself in your words and conversation with the said French king, when he first secretly broke with you of the said marriage." He also assures him "that the king continueth firmly in his good mind and purpose toward you for the accomplishment of the said marriage, albeit that there be daily on every side practices made to the *let* (hindrance) of the same, which I have withstood hitherto, and doubt not but so to do till you shall have achieved your intended purpose."[c] A few more weeks, however, produced a change of fortunes. Upon an alarm, which afterwards

[a] Signal-word; word of caution.

[b] Cotton. MS. Calig. D. VI. f. 172.

[c] Letter from Wolsey to Brandon, Miscellaneous Exchequer documents, 1st series, No. 1669, Rolls-house.

proved to be groundless, that the princess was *enceinte*, Suffolk wrote a confidential letter to Wolsey, dated the 5th of March, ascertaining him of the fact that he was already married, and entreating his secrecy and assistance.[a] The following is an extract from the cardinal's reply :—

"My lord,—With sorrowful heart I write unto you signifying unto the same that I have to my no little discomfort and inward heaviness perceived by your letters, dated at Paris the 5th day of this instant month, how that you be secretly married unto the king's sister, and have accompanied together as man and wife. And albeit you by your said letters desired me in no wise to disclose the same to the king's grace, yet seeing the same toucheth not only his honour, your promise made to his grace, and also my truth towards the same, I could no less do but, incontinent upon the sight of your said letters, declare and shew the contents thereof to his highness, which at the first hearing could *scantly* (scarcely) believe the same to be true, but after I had shewed to his grace that by your own writing I had knowledge thereof, his grace giving credence thereunto took the same grievously and displeasantly, not only for that you durst presume to marry his sister without his knowledge, but also for breaking of your promise made to his grace in his hand, I being present, at Eltham; having also such assured affiance in your truth that for all the world, and to have been torn with wild horses, you would not have broken your oath, promise, and assurance made to his grace, which he doth well perceive that he is deceived of the constant and affirmed trust that he thought to have found in you. And for my part, no man can be more sorry than I am that you have so done, and so his grace would I should expressly write unto you, being so *incholered* (enraged) therewith that I cannot devise nor study by the remedy thereof, considering that you have failed to him which hath brought you up of low degree to be of this great honour, and that you were the man in all the world he loved and trusted best, and was content that, with good order and saving of his honour, you should have in marriage his said sister. Cursed be the blind affection and counsel that hath brought you hereunto, fearing that such sudden and unadvised diligence shall have sudden repentance."

The cardinal goes on to make some friendly suggestions as to the

[a] Letter from Brandon to Wolsey. Cotton. MS. Calig. D. VI. fol. 176.

best mode of bribing Henry, by offering him a large share in the dower, jewels, plate, &c., of the princess.[a] Under these circumstances Mary addressed the following letters to Wolsey and the king.

My very good lord,

In my most hearty manner I recommend me unto you, letting you the same to understand that my lord of Suffolk hath sent me your letters which lately he received by Cooke, by which I perceive the faithful good mind which you do bear unto us both, and how that you be determined not to leave us in our extreme trouble; for the which your most *fast* (faithful) and loving dealing I most entirely thank you, requiring you to continue towards us as you have been, which shall never be forgotten in any of our behalfs, but to the uttermost of our power we shall be always ready to shew [you all] faithful kindness; [as knowe]th our Lord, who [send you long] life. Written [this . . . day o]f M[arc]h.

My lord, I require you that I may have so comfortable letters from the king my brother and from you, for I trow there was never woman that had more need.

By your loving friend,

MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE.

To my lord of York.

[a] Miscellaneous Exchequer documents, 1st series, No. 1213; a corrected draught, entirely in Wolsey's hand.

LETTER LXXV.

Mary Queen-Dowager of France to her Brother, King Henry VIII. A.D. 1515.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, D. VI. FOL. 242. *Holograph, the edges much burnt.*]

Pleaseth it your grace, to my greatest discomfort, sorrow, and disconsolation, but lately I have been advertised of the great and high displeasure which your highness beareth unto me and my lord of Suffolk for the marriage between us. Sire, I will not in any wise deny but that I have offended your grace, for the which I do put myself most humbly in your clemency and mercy. Nevertheless, to the intent that your highness should not think that I had simply, carnally, or of any sensual appetite done the same, I having no re[gar]d to fall in your grace's displeasure, I assure your grace that I had never done [against your] ordinance and consent, but by the r[eason of the grea]t despair w[herein I was put] by the two fr[iars . . . . .] which hath certifi[ed me] in case I come [to] En[gland] your council would never consent to the marriage between the said lord and me, with [ma]ny other sayings concerni[ng] the same promise, so that I verily [thought] that the said friar[s] would never have offered to have made me like ove[rture] unless they might have had charge from some of your council, the

which put me in such consternation, fear, and doubt of the obtaining of the thing which I desired most in this world, that I rather chose to put me in your mercy accomplishing the marriage than to put me in the order of your council [knowing the]m to be otherways [minded]. Whereupon, sire, I put [my lord of Su]ffolk in choice w[hether he woul]d accomplish th[e marriag]e within f[our days, or else that he should never have] enjoyed me ;[a] whereby I know well that I constrained him to break such promises as he made your grace, as well for fear of losing of me as also that I ascertained him that by their consent I would never come into England. And now that your grace knoweth the both offences, of the which I have been the only occasion, I most humbly and as your most [sorrow]ful sister requiring you to have compassion upon us both and to pardon our offences, and that it will please your grace to write to me and to my lord of Suffolk some [comfor]table words, for it sh[ould be] greatest comfort for u[s both.]

By your loving and most humble sister,

MARY.

To the King's grace.

Brandon's own account of the interview, in which the eloquence of the beautiful queen so wrought upon him that he broke the promise

[a] She declared to the duke, "that unless he resolved to marry her within four days, she would never have him."—GROVE'S *Life of Wolsey*, vol. ii. p. 257.

he had made not to marry her without the king's consent, is as follows:—[a]

"Sire,—So it is, that when I came to Paris the queen was in hand with me the first day [after], and said she must be short with me, and [shew] to me her pleasure and mind, and so she b[egan] unto me and shew how good lady she was to me, and if I would be ordered [by her] she would never have none but me, [and so] she shewed me that she had verily und[erstood a]s well by friar Langley and friar F . . . . . tar that an ever she came in Eng[land she shou]ld never have me, and therefore she [told me plainly] that an I would not marry her,[b] [then, she should neve]r have me nor never come [into England. An]d when I heard her say so I shewed [her that she] said that but to prove me with, and she [said 'that] I would not you know well:' that [at] my coming [to Paris h]ow it was shewed her, and I asked her [what that wa]s, and she said that the best in France had been unto her, that an she went into England she should go into Flanders, to the which she said that she had rather to be torn in pieces than ever she would come there, and with that *weeped*. I never saw woman so weep. And when I saw [that], I shewed her grace that there was none such thing by my faith with the best words I could, but in no wise I could make her believe it; and when I saw that, I shewed her grace that, an her grace would be content to write unto your grace and to obtain your good will, I would be content, or else I durst not, because I had made unto your grace such a promise: whereunto in conclusion she said: 'If the king my brother is content, and the French king, both the one by his letters and the other by his words, that I should have you, I will have the time after my desire, or else I may well think that the words of them in these parts and of them in England are true; and that is, that you are come to tice me hence, to the intent that I may be married into Flanders, the which I will never to die for it, and so [I promi]sed the French king ere you came: and th[us if so be] you will not be content to follow [after my mi]nd, look, never after this day [shall you have] the proffer again. And, sire, I saw me[c] in that case, and I thought . . . . . but rather to put me in y[our mercy] than to lose all, and so I granted thereunto, and so she and I was married."

[a] Cotton. MS. Calig. D. VI. fol. 180 b.

[b] Ibid. fol. 182.

[c] Ibid. fol. 181 b. The foliation of this letter is very irregular.

LETTER LXXVI.

Mary Queen-Dowager of France to Wolsey.
A.D. 1515.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. III. 4, FOL. 56, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Original.*]

My very good lord,

With all my heart I commend me unto you. I understand that it hath pleased the king my brother to promote doctor West, being here one of his ambassadors, to the bishoprick of Ely, whereof I am right glad. By reason of which promotion he must depart with divers of his benefices, among which he hath two, one called Egglesfield, in the bishopric of Durham, and the other the archdeaconry of Derby, which (as I am informed) be of no great value. Beseeching you, my lord, at mine instance, and for my sake, to be so good lord unto my servant John Palgrave, master of art, which hath done unto me right good and acceptable service, to his and his friends' great charge, and on my part as yet hitherto unremembered, as by your good wisdom and provision to find the means that he may have one of the said benefices. Heartily praying you and trusting that you will do it with effect, and to rescribe unto me your good will done therein. And thus the Holy Ghost preserve you.

From Paris, the third day of April.

MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE.

To my lord of York.

LETTER LXXVII.

Mary Queen-Dowager of France to her Brother, Henry VIII. A.D. 1515.

[MISCELLANEOUS EXCHEQUER DOCUMENTS, FIRST SERIES, NO. 1213, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Corrected Draught.*]

*** Mary's penitent letter before given was evidently the first effusion of the sorrowful bride when she was informed of her brother's indignation at her stolen love-match. The present letter was the more formal document, which, though addressed to the king, was intended to be laid before his council as an excuse for herself and her husband, and was dictated for her by her prudent friend and counsellor Wolsey. The frequency with which Mary reiterates her assurances that this marriage was of her own choosing, and without any solicitation from her bridegroom, is evidently intended to shelter the latter, who had failed in persuading the king to allow him to marry the queen publicly before they left France,[a] and whose position rendered him far more open to the assaults of his enemies, and his still more dangerous secret rivals, than from her rank, her sex, and her near relationship to the sovereign she could possibly be. Henry VIII. had not as yet begun to manifest his disregard of any of these considerations, when they interfered with his own revengeful or licentious passions.

The date of this letter must be about the latter end of April, for it was not till the 16th of April that Mary and her husband left Paris.[b] They succeeded, however, on their arrival in England in obtaining a full pardon for their offence; and a public marriage, solemnised at Greenwich on the 13th of May, gave the royal sanction to this romantic love-match.

[a] Letter of Brandon to Wolsey, 12th March, 1515. Wolsey Correspondence, vol. xi. pt. 2, fol. 77.

[b] Letter of Charles Brandon to Wolsey. Wolsey Correspondence, vol. xi. pt. 2, fol. 79. State Paper Office, Holograph, date April 17, 1515.

My most dear and entirely beloved brother,

In most humble manner[a] I recommend me to your grace.

Dearest brother, I doubt not but that you have in your good remembrance that whereas for the good of peace and for the furtherance of your affairs you moved me to marry with my lord and late husband, king Louis of France, whose soul God pardon. Though I understood that he was very aged and sickly, yet for the advancement of the said peace, and for the furtherance of your causes, I was contented to conform myself to your said motion, so that if I should fortune to survive the said late king I might with your good will marry myself at my liberty without your displeasure. Whereunto, good brother, you condescended and granted, as you well know, promising unto me that in such case you would never provoke or move me but as mine own heart and mind should be best pleased; and that wheresoever I should dispose myself, you would wholly be contented with the same. And upon that, your good comfort and faithful promise, I assented to the said marriage, which else I would never have granted to, as at the same time I shewed unto you more at large. Now that God hath called my said late husband to his mercy, and that I am at my liberty, dearest brother, remembering the

[a] It was at first written, "In most tender and loving manner possible;" the alteration is in Wolsey's hand.

great virtues which I have seen and perceived heretofore in my lord of Suffolk, to whom I have always been of good mind, as you well know, I have affixed and clearly determined myself to marry with him; and the same [I] assure you hath proceeded only of mine own mind, without any request or labour of my said lord of Suffolk, or of any other person. And to be plain with your grace, I have so bound myself unto him that for no cause earthly I will or may vary or change from the same.[a] Wherefore my good and most kind brother, I now beseech your grace to take this matter in good part, and to give unto me and to my said lord of Suffolk your good will herein. Ascertaining you, that upon the trust and comfort which I have, for that you have always honourably regarded your promise, I am now come out of the realm of France, and have put myself within your jurisdiction in this your town of Calais, where I intend to remain till such time as I shall have answer from you of your good and loving mind herein; which I would not have done but upon the faithful trust that I have in your said promise. Humbly beseeching your grace, for the great

[a] This sentence was originally written,—"So it is, brother, as you well know, I have always borne good mind towards my lord of Suffolk; and him, as the case doth now require with me, I can love before all other, and upon him I have perfectly set my mind—settled and determined; and upon the good comfort of your said promise the matter is so far forth that for no cause earthly I will vary or change from the same. And of me and of mine own towardness and mind only hath it proceeded."

and tender love which ever hath been and shall be between you and me, to bear your gracious mind and shew yourself to be agreeable thereunto, and to certify me by your most loving letters of the same, till which time I will make mine abode here, and no farther enter your realm. And to the intent it may please you the rather to condescend to this my most hearty desire, I am contented and expressly promise and bind me to you, by these presents, to give you all the whole *dote* (dowry) which was delivered with me, and also all such plate of gold and jewels as I shall have of my said late husband's. Over and besides this I shall, rather than fail, give you as much yearly part of my dower, to as great a sum as shall stand with your will and pleasure; and of all the premises I promise, upon knowledge of your good mind, to make unto you sufficient bonds. Trusting, verily, that in fulfilling of your said promise to me made, you will shew your brotherly love, affection, and good mind to me in this behalf, which to hear of I abide with most desire; and not to be miscontented with my said lord of Suffolk, whom of mine inward good mind and affection to him I have in manner enforced to be agreeable to the same, without any request by him made; as knoweth our Lord, whom I beseech to have your grace in his merciful governance.

LETTER LXXVIII.

Queen Catherine of Aragon to the Sub-Prior of Anglesea. A.D. 1515.

[HISTORICAL MS. VOL. I. NO. 30. IN THE PRIVATE COLLECTION OF DAWSON TURNER, ESQ. *Original.*]

*** Anglesea Priory in Cambridgeshire was in the gift of queen Catherine. John Barton resigned the office of prior in 1515 and was succeeded by William Sedgwick, who was elected Dec. 22d, in the same year.

BY THE QUEEN.

Trusty and well-beloved in God, we greet you well.

And whereas we be credibly informed that sir John Barton, late prior of that our house, hath now of late resigned his right and possession of the same, so that now our said house is void and destitute of a head to rule and order the same as it appertaineth; we, tendering the weal and furtherance of you and of our said house, will therefore and strictly command you, that you in no wise do proceed to the election of any other person to be prior and governor of the same, unto such time as you have of us a new grant and license so to do, with the knowledge of our farther mind and pleasure in that behalf. Not failing thus to do, as you intend to have us your good and gracious lady hereafter, and will avoid the contrary at your farther perils.

Given under our signet, at my lord's manor of Oaking, the 7th day of September.

CATHERINE THE QUEEN.

To our trusty [and well-beloved the] Subprior and [convent] of Anglesea.

LETTER LXXIX.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to Henry VIII. A.D. 1515.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. III. FOL. 273. *Original.*]

*** In answer to the repeated appeals of his sister, who complained that having laid her jewels in pledge she was ready to die for hunger, Henry VIII. threatened war against Scotland, whilst at the same time he privately exhorted the queen to fly with her children to England. Some rumours of this got abroad, and also that, failing issue of his own line, Henry intended to make the eldest boy king of England and the younger king of Scotland; therefore, says lord Fleming, in a letter in which he communicates this information to the earl of Huntley, "I pray you ye cause to gar keep the bairns well."[a] Margaret professed herself willing and ready to comply with her brother's request and go to England,[b] especially as she was greatly distressed for money,[c] but was unable for the reasons she assigns in the two following letters. She wrote on the same day in a similar strain to lord Dacre,[d] but her reasonings failed to convince her correspondents, as their replies contain reiterated entreaties on the same subject.[e]

[a] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. I. fol. 25, date 11th Dec. 1514.

[b] Letter from James English, lord Dacre's captain, to Adam Williamson, date January 22d, 1515. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. I. fol. 22.

[c] The same to the same, ibid. fol. 26.

[d] Ibid. fol. 28.

[e] Dacres to Margaret, January 27th, 1515. Cotton. MS. Cal. B. II. fol. 292. Williamson to Margaret, same date, ibid. fol. 152. Williamson to the apostolate of Arbroath, ibid. fol. 303.

Right excellent, high, and mighty prince, and dearest brother,

I commend me to you with all my heart. I have received instructions from the lord Dacres by my servant, sir James English, this 21st day of January, made by the advice of you and your council, wherein I consider the great affection and love that you have to me, my children, my husband, and his friends, whose counsel I would be gladder to do than to make me the greatest lady of the world. Yet it comforts mine heart to hear your fraternal desire; but it is impossible to be performed by any manner of fashion that I, my husband, or his uncle can devise; considering what watch and spies there is daily where I am, and I dare disclose my counsel to none other but God. If[a] I were such a woman that might go with my bairn in mine arm, I trow I should not be long from you, whose presence I desire most of any man. I trust, dear brother, to defend me from mine enemies, if I had sufficient expenses *to* (till) the coming of your help; but I am so super-expended that I doubt that poverty shall cause me to consent to some of their minds, which I shall never do without your counsel, as long as I have a groat to spend. Wherefore I pray you to send me some money, as you think necessary; for it is not your honour that I or my children should want. Also, brother, I have sent to you in this other writing, how the bishop of Dunkeld is de-

[a] *Sen* in orig.

ceased, whose benefice I have given to the apostolate, my husband's uncle; for the bishop of Murray has purchased all the other benefices of this country. I have written to the pope for the said apostolate,[a] and I beseech you to farther the same at the pope's hands, for I am right much beholden to him. All other things as occurs in the country Mr. Adam Williamson can shew you, to whom you shall give credence; and the Holy Trinity have you in keeping.

At Perth, the 22d day of January.

Your loving sister,

MARGARET R.

To the right excellent, high, and mighty prince, our dearest brother the King of England.

LETTER LXXX.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to Adam Williamson.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. III. 7, FOL. 28, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Original.*]

*** Adam Williamson was the chaplain and faithful friend of queen Margaret. In his reply to the present letter, urging her to follow the advice of her brother, who was "the best prince the world ever had," he says, "Pardon me, madam, though I write plain to your grace. I speak of true heart. I have been in so great danger, and lost my goods also, for your sake and in your service, that if anything should come to you but good, as God forbid, my days should be short in this world; if your grace prosper and do well, I care not for all my labour, and loss."[b]

[a] The united letter of James and Margaret is in Cotton. MS. Calig. B. II. fol. 364.

[b] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. II. fol. 152, date Jan. 27th, 1515.

Trusty clerk,

We greet you heartily well, and we have received your counsel, with the instructions from our familiar clerk, sir James English, and considered the same; which was right pleasant to us, if it had been possible to do after the said counsel: but as yourself may well consider the inopportunity that was when you were here, and since far more, and that folk of this land are so inquisitive that such thing may not be performed without great knowledge to sundry folks, and there is none that I may trust but my husband and his uncle, which are right glad thereto if it might be; praying to [you] be diligent in all matters, as you have been in time past. In other things give credence to the apostolate and sir James' writings.

At Perth, the 22d day of January.

MARGARET R.

To our trusty clerk, Master
Adam Williamson.

LETTER LXXXI.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to Henry VIII.
A.D. 1515.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. III. 7, NO. 25, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Original.*]

*** On the 17th of May, 1515, the duke of Albany landed in Scotland, and in the following July was formally installed protector and

governor.[a] Queen Margaret, knowing herself in some measure in his power, and having failed to obtain from England the vigorous aid she needed, tried at first to compromise matters with him, and received him with much courteousness. For a few months all went on smoothly, until Albany, upon pretence of a plot discovered to convey the young king to England, seized him and his brother at Stirling castle, where they were residing with their mother, and made himself master of their persons.[b] To avoid the reflections likely to be cast upon him if he, the next heir to the throne, assumed the personal guardianship of the princes, he appointed three lords to attend upon them, removing the queen from them, and only allowing her occasional access to them. At first Margaret feigned satisfaction with the new arrangements, and, partly from policy, partly from compulsion, wrote the following letters to her brother and lord Dacres on the subject, and also another, now lost, in the following month, which Henry VIII. discovered to be forced, because it was not in the hand of her own clerk, and was only subscribed MARGARET R. and not "your loving sister," according to the signal agreed on between them.[c]

Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince and dearest brother,

I commend me unto you with all my heart. I have received your writing from Unicorn herald, wherein you reproved me of certain things that I have done which is not to your pleasure. Verily, brother, I wrote to you as I found cause, and trust that I and my cousin the duke of Albany, governor, shall continue on that fashion, that unity and peace may persevere betwixt both the realms. It is ordained

[a] Dacre to the lords of the council, August 1st, 1515. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. II. fol. 341.

[b] Lesley, de rebus gestis Scotorum, pp. 376-377. Interesting details of this affair are in the letter above quoted, and in another, dated Aug. 7. Ibid. fol. 369.

[c] Credence sent to Henry VIII. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. II. fol. 368. Letter from Dacres and Magnus to Hen. VIII., Sept. 1st, 1515. Calig. B. VI. fol. 80.

in this realm, with consent of the governor, in *plane* (full) parliament, that three lords which were most convenient therefor should have the charge and keeping of the king and his brother, my sons; which lords I consented to receive. Nevertheless I have presence of my children at my pleasure, and enter to them whenever I will. Brother, I am determined that I and my said cousin shall take one part, for I know it is most for my profit. Therefore I pray you send some wise man to see and know the state, and to make a sure way betwixt me and him, and write your letters to him thereupon to entreat me and my children honestly; for I know that he will do the better to me for your sake. And if I find otherwise, I shall advertise you by the said wise man that you shall send. My cousin, the king of France, has sent me writing by this bearer, and prays me that I will entreat and do my diligence to keep the peace betwixt the realms, the which I pray you to do in like wise for my request. Brother, I purpose, by the grace of God, to take my chamber and lie in my palace of Linlithgow within this twelve days, for I have not past eight weeks to my time; at the which I pray Jesu to send me good speed and happy deliverance, and to have you, dear brother, eternally in his keeping.

At Edinburgh, the 20th day of August.

Your loving sister,

MARGARET R.

To the right excellent, right high, and mighty prince and our dearest brother, the King of England.

LETTER LXXXII.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to Lord Dacres.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. VI. FOL. 78. *Original.*]

Well-beloved cousin,

I commend me heartily to you. Please you wit, I have written to my brother the king of England, shewing him that the lords of Scotland, with consent of my lord duke of Albany, governor, in *plane* (open) parliament, has ordained three wise lords, convenient thereto, to have the charge and keeping of the king and his brother, my children, to whom I have consented to receive them. Nevertheless I have presence of my said children to have free issue and entry to them, with my servants, whenever I please. And how I am *deliberate* (determined) that the governor and I shall take one-fold[a] part, and has desired my said brother to send some wise man from him, to the effect to make a hearty sure way and concord betwixt me and my said lord duke. And in like wise has mentioned how the king of France has written to me affectionately, exhorting me to do my diligence to keep peace betwixt the realms. Wherefore I have prayed my brother to maintain the same, and desire you heartily to farther it in like wise at your power, and to farther this bearer in his journey, as our trust is in you, whom the blessed Lord have in his keeping.

[a] *Ane-afald* in orig.

Written under my signet, and subscribed with my hand, at Edinburgh, the 20th of August.

Yours,

MARGARET R.

The true sentiments of the queen are, however, ascertained by the following document, entitled,—

A Remembrance of an information by me, Margaret queen of Scots, to be shewed for my declaration to the Ambassador of Scotland.[a]

First when I was in my castle of Stirling, and the king and his brother, my tender children, with me, afore the coming of the duke of Albany into Scotland, the lords would have come and have entered into my castle, to have been more stronger therein than I myself.

And after that I set a parliament, whereunto the lords disobeyed, and thereupon sent for the said duke of Albany to come into Scotland and moved him to marry me, and caused him to send tokens to me for marriage.

Whereupon I was driven by force either to steal away and leave my said children or to marry there, seeing the suspicion that the said duke was in, and the pretence that his father made before him to the crown of Scotland.

And at the coming of the said duke into Scotland he made me fair and pleasant semblance, and afterwards purposed by the advice of his council to take the king and his brother, my said tender children, from me. And thereupon caused the lord Drummond, being constable of my said castle of Stirling, which had the keeping of my said tender children, to be accused; because the said lord Drummond waved his sleeve[b] at an herald, and gave him upon the breast with his hand, for because the said herald behaved him otherwise than he ought to do, saying that he came in message from the lords to my lady the king's mother, which was before the coming of the said duke into Scotland.

And after that also committed the apostolate of Arbroath to ward,

[a] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VI. fol. 105.

[b] *Sleif* in orig.

because that I wrote a letter to the pope's holiness in commendation of the said apostolate to the bishoprick of Dunkeld; and also that the king's highness, my dearest brother, at mine instance, wrote another letter to the pope's said holiness in the favour of the said apostolate: whereupon I came down to the Holyrood-house to solicit and labour to the said duke (sore weeping) for the said lord Drummond and apostolate, being my councillors; but grace got I none. And then other of my councillors and servants, seeing that, withdrew them all from me, except my lord of Angus and the lord chamberlain.

And thereupon the said duke of Albany, by the advice of his council, appointed three lords to have the keeping of my said children, the king and his brother, as more at large it appeareth in a bill of supplication given unto the king's said highness, my dearest brother, of my matters aforesaid.

And for to say that ever I was agreeable, content, or pleased, that the said duke of Albany should come into Scotland, or that ever he did justice, or meddled with justice, but only vexed and troubled me and my friends, it appeareth in the said supplication, which I am ready to justify, point by point.

Endorsed, "1515, a Remembrance of the Queen of Scots."

LETTER LXXXIII.

Queen Margaret to the Duke of Albany. A.D. 1515.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. VI. FOL. 119 b.]

*** The queen had now come to an open rupture with Albany, and her position became so distressing, especially as she was again on the eve of becoming a mother, that lord Dacres wrote to her on the part of her brother, offering her an asylum in England, promising to meet her himself at Berwick, and that she should neither want "stuff, household, nor money" necessary for her condition.[a] The plan of her

[a] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VI. fol. 81, date Sept. 1, 1515.

escape was accordingly arranged by herself in the following document sent to her brother, entitled,—

Credence given to the Lord Dacres and Thomas Magnus from the Queen of Scots, by her trusty servant Robin Carr.[a]

First, the said queen sheweth that the duke of Albany hath compelled and constrained her to subscribe and write divers letters contrary to her own mind, and against all right and conscience; and not only keepeth her so straitly in Edinburgh, that neither she can nor may see nor send to the king and prince her children, nor to other her friends, for her relief and comfort in her causes, and therefore from thence she can make none escape.

Also, that the said duke hath not only taken from her divers her special friends, and kept them in ward, but also withholdeth from her all the profits and revenues of her lands; so that she is at extreme poverty for want of goods, and therefore beseecheth your grace of your good help, succour, and assistance.

And for her repairing to Blackater, as is devised, she hath ordained that she will feign herself to be sick at Edinburgh, and therefore will go to a town of her own, called Linlithgow, twelve miles beyond[b] Edinburgh, appointed by the consent of the said duke; whereas she shall take her chamber, and being there with the earl Angus her husband, the first or second night of her coming thither will depart without any man or woman with her, but only herself, her husband, and four or five servants that shall not be privy to any part of her purpose; and within two or three miles of the said town, it is devised how the lord chamberlain of Scotland, with convenient number, shall receive her for her sure conveyance to Blackater aforesaid. And in case this practice fail the night appointed, then the said chamberlain shall burn some town of the duke's, and some other ruffling, and so depart into his country again till another night appointed for the same practice, which the queen will not fail to follow; insomuch that she hath required to have for her said conveyance forty hardy and well-striking fellows. And notwithstanding her grace is within six weeks of her lying down, yet she hath ascertained us she hath good

[a] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VI. fol. 85.

[b] So the word seems to have been first written, and then either crossed out or altered to *by west*.

health, and is strong enough to take upon her this journey. Men and horses be appointed for her accordingly, and the chamberlain in his own person shall be captain and conductor of the said matter. And for performance of the premises, her grace hath sent unto your highness a ring of gold herein inclosed.

The attempt to escape from Scotland having proved successful, Margaret reached Harbottle in safety; and though Albany sent to offer her terms, and the restoration of her jewels, if she would return to Scotland, she refused to comply.[a] On the 7th of October she there gave premature birth to a daughter.[b] This child of sorrow was the lady Margaret Douglas, the mother of Henry Darnley, and grandmother of Mary queen of Scots; but so little was her birth regarded, that a fortnight elapsed before Dacres and Magnus, the English commissioners on the borders, thought proper to apprise Henry VIII. of the event. Their cool and laconic letter has been printed by Sir Henry Ellis.[c]

The present letter contains the queen's formal announcement of the event to the regent Albany, and is written in a spirit of defiance. It was answered in terms equally stern from Albany and the council, informing her that by her second marriage she had lost all claim to the regency, and that her party would be proceeded against as rebels. Neither letter contains the slightest allusion to the birth of her infant.[d]

Cousin,

I heartily commend me unto you, and where I have been enforced for fear and danger of my life, many things considered, to depart forth of the realm of Scotland into this the realm of England. So it is, that by the grace of Almighty God I am now delivered, and have a Christian soul, being a young

[a] Margaret to the French ambassador, Oct. 6, 1515. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VI. fol. 125.

[b] See the exact date given by Margaret in a declaration of her wrongs, dated March 1, 1516. Ibid. B. II. fol. 211.

[c] Historical Letters, 2d series, vol. i. p. 165.

[d] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VI. ff. 120, 121, date Oct. 13, 1515.

lady, desiring you in God's name, and for your honour, as right and good justice requireth, that you suffer me, as tutrix of the young king and prince, my tender children, to have the whole rule and governance, as well of them as of the said realm of Scotland, according to the last will and testament of my late spouse and husband, the late king of Scotland—whom Christ for his passion pardon—approved and confirmed by the pope's holiness, according as his said holiness signifieth unto you and exhorteth you to do, as now I move and require you, and that it may like you to ascertain me how you be minded to do in that behalf, &c.

At Harbottle, the 10th day of October.

LETTER LXXXIV.

Queen Margaret to Cardinal Wolsey. A.D. 1516.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. II. FOL. 283. *Holograph.*]

*** The anxieties endured by Margaret rendered her recovery from her confinement slow and tedious; her illness being at one time so severe that her life was despaired of.[a] Meantime her partisans were not idle in Scotland. Her husband the earl of Angus, with the earls of Arran and Home, entered into a solemn covenant to free the royal children and stand by each other in determined opposition to Albany,[b] and they became sufficiently formidable to lead the regent to desire an accommodation with Margaret. She was now waiting at Morpeth a summons to the English court, and it delayed so long that

[a] Lesley, p. 379. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. II. fol. 211.

[b] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VI. fol. 124 b, date Oct. 15th, 1515.

she began to listen more favourably to Albany. Of this Henry's agents informed him, adding, however, "though her grace at some times hath not made us privy to every thing, yet she, as a great wise woman, persevereth and resteth upon this:—that she will do nothing without the consent of your grace." They add that they have taken care her letters to Albany should be so worded as that no good understanding should ensue between them; they advise Henry to send for her and write her comfortable letters, "for by occasion of the daily messengers that come unto her from out of Scotland, she is troubled at some times in her mind, and put in study to imagine and cast what her grace is best for to do."[a]

Thus urged, Henry sent for his sister. On the 8th of April she set out for London,[b] and she remained some time in his court; but he treated her somewhat superciliously, and allowed her to suffer so much from poverty that she addressed the two following begging letters to Wolsey.[c]

My lord cardinal,

I commend me to you, and you know [how] that I have spoken to you, and caused master Magnus to speak to you, for some money to me. My lord, I am very sorry to put the king's grace to so great cost and charges as I do, howbeit that I have been in times past, I shall not be so in time to come; nevertheless I think I should be like his sister, to his honour and mine. Now, my lord, you know the time of Christmas is near, and part of things I will need both to me and my servants, and I trust to get part of money out of Scotland, for you may see they

[a] Dacre and Magnus to Henry VIII., date March 15th, 1516. Cotton. MS. Caligula, B. VI. fol. 99.

[b] Dacre to Henry VIII., April 12, 1516. Ibid. B. III. fol. 32.

[c] Several of Margaret's letters, while in England, are printed by Sir H. Ellis, 1st series, vol. i. p. 127 et seq.

are owing much, and say they will cause me to be paid, which, an it be not, I have as great wrong as is possible; but my trust is that the king's grace my brother will see me have reason, and therefore I pray you my lord to let me borrow so much as 200*l.* English, and I shall give you a writing of mine own hand, to cause my lord Dacres to take off as much of mine of the first that is gotten now, and I shall trouble you no more for no money, for I trust to get mine own, and I shall do the best I can with it. I pray you heartily my lord to put me off no longer, for the time is short, and if you will do so much for me at this time, I pray you send me word, for I will trouble you no more with my sending, for then I will speak to the king my brother, for I trust his [grace] will do so much for me and trust me for a greater thing. As our Lord knoweth, whom keep you.

MARGARET R.

To my Lord Cardinal.

LETTER LXXXV.

Queen Margaret to Cardinal Wolsey. A.D. 1517.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 252. *Holograph.*]

My lord cardinal,

I commend me to you, and I pray you, my lord, deliver my servant Ross the herald, that brought

the articles from the duke and the lords of Scotland, for the sooner that he is sped it is the better for me, an they will do me reason, as they say they will. Wherefore I pray you, my lord, hold him no longer. Also you will remember that I spoke to you upon Sunday to borrow a part of money of the king my brother, while I may get my own, which I shall pay to you again; and I told you the cause why, which is no honour to me, an I may remedy it. And, my lord, it is the first request that ever I made to you, and though I were a stranger, you could do no less to me, and I shall think me ever beholden to you, an you do so much for me at this time. I am loth to speak to the king my brother in it, because I trust you will do it for me. No more, but God keep you, and your answer with this bearer.

MARGARET R.

To my Lord Cardinal.

LETTER LXXXVI.

Queen Margaret to Henry VIII. A.D. 1517.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. II. FOL. 277 b. *Holograph.*]

*** In compliance with the wishes of Margaret, Henry VIII. made some feeble attempts to remove Albany from the regency, but his propositions were indignantly rejected. The duke had, however, many ties, domestic and social, in France, and having arranged matters at home, he in the summer of 1517 went over there, leaving

the archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, with the earls of Huntley, Arran, and Angus, governors.[a] Queen Margaret, having received a safe conduct from her son,[b] and satisfactory promises from the Scottish lords in reference to the settlement of her affairs,[c] was on her journey homewards, and had proceeded as far as York, when the news of the governor's departure reached her. From that place she penned the letter now laid before the reader, in which she enters into some curious details about her pecuniary circumstances, and expresses very freely her feelings in regard to Albany.

Dearest brother,

In my most humble wise I can I recommend me to your grace. Pleaseth you to wit that upon Tuesday Canter came to me to York from the duke of Albany, with writings which I send to your grace, the very copy word by word, because I keep his letter myself; and he hath sent writings to your grace to shew you of his departing out of Scotland, and that the council of Scotland would not suffer him to pass through England, as your grace will perceive by his writings: howbeit methinks he has taken this purpose very hastily, for I know well he thought it not within this short while. But I may thank your grace and no other, or else it had not been; beseeching your grace as humbly as I can, now, since he doth depart, to look well upon it for my surety and that he may not come to trouble me after, as

[a] Lesley, p. 385.

[b] Dated April 6th, 1517. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VI. fol. 107; and Miscellaneous Letters, 1st series, vol. vi. fol. 15, State Paper Office.

[c] Clarencieux to Wolsey. Wolsey Papers, vol. vi. fol. 33, date March 17th, 1517, State Paper Office.

my special trust is in your grace, for he proposeth to come again into Scotland. Sir, I am sure the duke hath written to your grace how he hath ordered every thing now at his departing, and what persons shall have the rule, both the wardens of the borders and within the realm, or else I would have written all at length: for he hath sent me word of everything, and how I shall be received into Scotland, and how I shall be answered of my conjunct feofment, as is made between your grace and him, with the council of Scotland; howbeit I will be plain to your grace, an you will not be displeased, for I say it not for no displeasure to your council, for I think they know not that I know in this matter. Sir, your grace knoweth it is concluded between your council and Scotland that I shall have all that I have right to pertaining to me, with one clause in it, that is, I giving again it that I have pertaining to my son, not declaring plainly what it is; which may be hurt to me in time coming, for the king my husband, whose soul God pardon, ere he went to the field,[a] gave me a letter of his hand, commanding to deliver me 18,000 crowns of weight, that the French king did send; which was without the council of Scotland's consent. And also they may claim any other things that I have that the king my husband gave me, which were wrong. And I spent the most part of it ere I came to your grace, for I was not

[a] The battle of Flodden.

answered of my living since the field, to hold my house with. And, therefore, I beseech your grace to command my lord Dacres to see a sure way for me and master Magnus, ere I go in. But now the duke goeth away, I set not much by the remnant that is behind: for I know them and their conditions; with fear that they have of your grace they will be glad to please me. I desire this to be done in adventure that the duke come again, that I be not troubled with him. I would not shew this to none but to your grace, beseeching your grace to continue good and kind brother to me, as you have been ever, and that I may hear from your grace; which will be to my great comfort, as God knoweth, whom preserve you. Written at York the 3d day of June.

Your humble sister,

MARGARET.

Sir, — Since I ended this letter, Canter, this bearer, said to me in the duke's name, that he prayed me to write to your grace that the peace might be continued longer than Saint Andrew's Day. Sir, I trust you do remember that I spake to your grace when I went to Windsor this last time, that it should not be long continued without my desire, for causes,—but do to me as your grace thinks best for me, so that I may know it before him when it is continued, so that I may have the thanks of Scotland.

* To the right high and mighty prince, and my dearest brother, the King's grace of England.

LETTER LXXXVII.

Queen Margaret to Cardinal Wolsey. A.D. 1517.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 253. *Holograph.*]

*** Although the Scottish council had become so arrogant, on account of the court they received from France, that they refused to send a proper escort to attend upon their queen,[a] yet she was met on the borders by her husband and other lords, with three thousand soldiers,[b] and re-entered Edinburgh, after a sojourn of nearly two years in England, on the 17th of June.[c] During the interval her younger son Alexander had died, and it was with much difficulty that she obtained access to the young king. This deprivation she keenly felt, and it forms her principal ground of complaint in the present letter.

My lord cardinal,

In my most hearty wise I recommend me to you, and would be glad to hear from you. Pleaseth you to wit that I am come to Edinburgh, and hath been very well received, saving the sight of my son the king, which I think right strange, as this [bearer] will shew you my mind at more length, to whom I pray you to give credence. My good lord, next the king my brother, my most special trust is in you, and you may do me most good; and if so be that this realm keep not to my brother and you their promises, I must needs call for help to his grace and you, for I trust to rule me so that the king and

[a] Letter from Dacre and Magnus to Wolsey, date 18th March, 1517. Cotton. MS. Caligula, B. I. fol. 9.

[b] Magnus to Wolsey, June 16th, 1517. Ibid. B. II. fol. 253.

[c] Lesley, de rebus gestis, p. 385.

you shall be content, for I will do nothing but I will ask counsel at my lord Dacres. And I pray you, my lord, command him that he send often to see how I do and am entreated; but an ever the duke come in Scotland again, here is no biding to me, and that this bearer can shew you. No more, but God have you in his keeping.

Written the 20th day of June, with my hand,

Yours,

MARGARET R.

To my Lord Cardinal.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

Queen Margaret to Henry VIII. A.D. 1518.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 232 b. *Holograph.*]

*** Lesley, the Scottish historian, tells us that, in the beginning of August 1518, a report arose at Edinburgh, which soon reached the ears of the queen, that her husband, the earl of Angus, had fallen in love with a beautiful and noble young lady in a distant province, whom he constantly carried about with him in secret.[a] Violent and impetuous in her temperament, and once ardently attached to a husband for whose sake she had suffered much, the injured affections of the queen gave rise to a hatred scarcely less vehement, and the domestic feud between her and Angus long kept alive the flame of discord in Scotland. Another source of discord between them was the disposal of the queen's extensive dower-lands, over which she claimed unlimited control. Angus, on the other hand, assumed that his authority as a husband gave him the right of interfering, and even of securing part of her revenues to himself and his partisans; while, at

[a] De rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 391.

the same time, the lords utterly failed in fulfilling their promise to secure her the regular reception of her rents.[a] The present is the first letter of Margaret in which she alludes to these grounds of complaint.

Dearest brother the king,

In my most humble wise I can I recommend me to your grace, desiring greatly to hear of your good health and prosperity, which would be to my great comfort. And if it please your grace to wit how the king my son, your nephew, does, he is in good health, I thank God. As touching to myself, an it please your grace to wit how I am done to since my departing from you, it hath been very evil; howbeit, I was very loath to trouble your grace, and would not while I may no further that I see. I can get no reason, for I am not answered nor obeyed of my living, whereof I have not gotten two thousand pounds of Scotch money since my departing from your grace, which should be every year to me nine thousand pounds, and this is not to me to live in honour, like your sister, nor like myself; which I beseech your grace to look well upon, and give no more credence to the fair words of the lords of Scotland, for it is to none effect. And, as for me, I have put off so long that I must give my jewels and such things as I got from your grace, for fault that I have nothing to spend, which will be great dishonour to me, and no honour to your grace, for I

[a] Dacres to Wolsey, 8th August, 1517. Wolsey Corresp. vol. iv. art. 30. Same to same, date 30th October, ibid. art. 11. Same to same, March 5th, 1518, ibid. art. 14.

have no other to help me but you. And now it stands to me upon this point, I beseech your grace to help me, and to give me license to come into your realm; or else I will be put to the point to give my living at the pleasure of the duke and the lords, and they to give me what they please, which would be of little *valour* (value) to me. And please your grace to remember, the last writing I got from you, you bade me that I should not give over my conjunct feoffment for a sum of money, which I have kept. And your grace knows that you may of reason cause the ships of Scotland to be taken, and the goods in them, when they fail to me that I be not answered; which I have suffered too long, considering that your grace hath forborne so long to do any evil, and I am nought the better.

Dearest brother the king, I trust your grace will not let me be overrun; and I wit well I will never get good of Scotland of fairness, nor I will never with my will bide here with them that I know well loves me not, which proves daily; and therefore do to me as ever your grace will, for all my weal is in your hands. Also please you to wit that I am sore troubled with my lord of Angus since my last coming into Scotland, and every day more and more, so that we have not been together this half-year. Please your grace to remember that, at my coming now into Scotland, my lord Dacres and master Magnus made a writing betwixt me and my lord of Angus, for the surety of me, that he might not have no power to put away nothing of my

conjunct feoffment without my will, which he hath not kept; and the bishop of Dunkeld, his father's brother, and others his kinsmen, caused my lord of Angus to deal right sharply with me, to cause me to break the bond that he made to me, which I would not do; and upon that he went and took up it that I live upon, and would not let none answer to me, and took my house of the new work,[a] within the forest of Ettrick, which should be in the year to me four thousand marks, and I get never a penny; with much more evil that I shall cause a servant of mine to shew your grace, which is too long to write. And I am so minded that, an I may by law of God and to my honour, to part with him, for I wit well he loves me not, as he sheweth to me daily. Wherefore I beseech your grace, when it comes to that point, as I trust it shall, to be a kind prince and brother to me; for I shall never marry but where you will bid me, nor never to part from your grace, for I will never with my will abide into Scotland: and to send me your pleasure, and what your grace will do to me, for all my hope and trust is in your grace. I durst not send by land to your grace, for such causes as I shall cause you to understand, and I beseech your grace to write me your mind with this bearer, and God preserve you. At Edinburgh.

Your humble sister,

MARGARET.

To my dearest brother the King's grace.

[a] The *nue warke* in original.

LETTER LXXXIX.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to Queen Catherine of Aragon. A.D. vers. 1519.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. III. 7, FOL. 41, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Original.*]

Right excellent, right high, and mighty princess, our right dear and best-beloved sister,

We recommend us unto you in our most hearty wise, and have received your letters the 6th day of this month, written at Windsor the 18th day of October, and by contents of the same we perceive you right sorry of the adversity lately happened to us, the causes thereof were unshewn or unknown at all times unto us. We also consider your loving and hearty mind towards us, and the great compassion you have for our sake, as your well-beloved in God, friar Bonaventure, provincial of the Friars Observant, has shewn on your behalf, together with full wise and substantial consolations, whereof we give you our hearty thanks. And great comfort it is to us to know of our brother and your prosperous good health, in whom our special trust is above all next God. Praying you, dearest sister, to have us in remembrance toward our brother, that for our sake our dearest brother's kindness may be known to our lieges and realm, like as we have shown at good leisure to the said religious father; of whose message, comfort, and good mind shewn unto us this

time, we are right glad. As knows God, who, right excellent, right high, and mighty princess, most dear and best-beloved sister, the Trinity have in keeping.

Given under our signet, at our town of Perth, the 11th day of November.

Your loving sister,

MARGARETA R.

To the right excellent, right high, and noble princess, our most dear and best-beloved sister, the Queen of England, &c.

LETTER XC.

Queen Margaret to Lord Dacres. A.D. 1519.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 275. *Holograph.*]

My lord Dacres,

I commend me heartily to you, and I thank you for the sending of your servant, this bearer, whom to I have shewn my mind at length, praying you, my lord, to give him credence as to myself; for I stand in a sore case, an I get not the king's grace my brother's help, and my lord cardinal's. For such jewels as his grace gave me at my departing from him, I am so constrained that I must put it away for money; and hath put away all my servants, because I have nought to give them, scantily to find my me[at]. And had not been Robin Barton

comptroller, that hath laid out of his own purse five hundred pounds Scots,[a] I had been fain to have lived a poor gentlewoman, and not like the woman that I am. For I am not answered of no part of my living except Stirling and Linlithgow, and you know, my lord, what that is. And as for the forest of Ettrick and the earldom of March, I get nothing, nor of the lands of Methven. And, in good faith, since my last coming into Scotland, I have not gotten of all the lands I have four hundred pounds Scots, which you shall find of truth, and that the lords here cannot deny; for they say their selves they know well that I am very evil done to, but they mend not; and therefore I beseech you, my lord Dacres, to inform the king's grace my brother how I am entreated, and to beseech his grace of help, for else I am undone and sch . . . And the cause that I came hither most for was for the king my son's sake, and I am holden from him like a stranger, and not like his mother, which doth me great displeasure in my heart, considering I have no other comfort here but him. Therefore, since they will not let me be with my son, nor is not answered of my living, neither to the king my brother's honour nor mine, I beseech his grace to let me come and be in his realm; and I shall be content heartily to give over to him my living and all the rents I have, and his grace to give me what

[a] This statement is confirmed by a letter from lord Dacres to Wolsey, date July 26th, 1521. Cotton. MS. Caligula, B. I. fol. 155.

he will, and never to depart from him. And his grace knows well that he may get reason of Scotland, and so may not I. Suppose he write specially for me to the lords of Scotland, they give his grace fair words, but they do to me never the better, and that I have essayed long, and there is neither kindness nor truth with them, wherefore I had *liever* (rather) be dead than I should live my life amongst them. And I wit well they have no cause to do evil to me, for I have guided me well toward them, as I report me to them. Also, my lord, now the peace is now to be taken betwixt these two realms, and I trust the king's grace my brother and my lord cardinal will not [app]rove the peace while there be some good way seen for me, that I may live at my heart's ease, and not thus in pain as I do; for his grace promised me at my departing that Scotland should never have peace with England without I were well, which is not, for I was never so evil. Wherefore I beseech his grace to remedy it hastily, —for all my comfort and hope is in him,—and that I may know his pleasure how I shall do; and that you will, my lord, farther it the best you can, as my trust is in you. And wit you, my lord, that this realm stood never as it doth now, nor never like to be so evil rule in it, for every lord prideth who may be greatest party and most friends, and they think to get the king my son in their hands, and then they will rule all as they will; for there is many against the chancellor, and think to put him down of

authority, and I am most beholden to him of any here, and so am I not to none of remnant. And thus I see no good for the king my son nor me; but, if the king's grace my brother make help, that is, either to cause me to have the king my son, as I had afore, in my keeping, or else to give me license to come to his realm, and live my life there, which I had liever do nor any thing in the world, which I beseech you to shew his grace. And I beseech my lord cardinal to stand good lord and friend to me, as he promised me in his house at my departing, which I pray him to remember upon, and to help me, for I am at a sore point; and I pray you, my lord, to give credence to this bearer, for he will shew you my mind at length, for I durst scantily tarry upon the writing of this letter, I am so mistrusted, because I am so evil intreated; as God knows, whom keep you. My lord, I have two cups of gold that the king's grace my brother gave me at my departing, and for fault of money I must put them away incontinent, and I had liever you had them nor another, for I have part of chains that I must put away too; and thus I pray you send me your mind how[a] I shall do, for I think shame to let any body wit it.

Written at Stirling the 17th day of October.

Your friend,

MARGARET R.

To my Lord Dacres.

[a] *Vhoy* in original.

LETTER XCI.

Queen Margaret to Lord Dacres. A.D. 1520.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 274. *Holograph.*]

*** Anxious for a deliverance from the poverty and misfortune that beset her on every side, and failing to receive the desired aid from England, Margaret at length consented, at the urgent request of some of the Scottish lords, to join in a solicitation for the return of the duke of Albany to take the reins of the disordered government. This step excited vehement indignation in Henry VIII., since the return of Albany would secure the predominance of French influence in the Scottish council. Not deigning to write himself to his sister he conveyed his reproofs through lord Dacres.[a] A spirited reply of the queen to these remonstrances, dated July 14th, 1520,[b] is printed by Sir H. Ellis; but that failing to remove his displeasure, was succeeded by the present epistle. A report was current in Scotland that the duke intended to divorce his own wife to marry Margaret, who was also to be divorced from Angus, and, in time, to obtain for himself the crown of Scotland. Wolsey especially requested the rumour to be farther circulated, that it might injure Albany in the estimation of the Scots. To this projected union it was said that the queen was agreeable.[c]

My lord Dacres,

I commend me heartily to you, and would be glad to hear from you; and suppose you be unkind to me and will not let me hear from you, I will not do so; for I will not desire your counsel in any thing that I have ado, and do after it. Howbeit it

[a] Dacres to Margaret, July 10th, 1520. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. II. fol. 194.

[b] Ellis' Letters, 2d series, vol. i. p. 276.

[c] Wolsey to lord Dacres, date Nov. 27th, 1521. Cotton. MS. Calig. III. fol. 52.

is shewn to me that you should say that I have lost the favour of the king's grace, my brother, and my friends of England, which I trust be not; for I have made no such cause, for I have made no fault in no way to the king's grace, my brother, nor his realm. I could not deny to write for the duke of Albany to the French king, without I had displeased him, which might have done me displeasure, and caused me to have been worse treated. And I thought my writing could do him either little good or nought, and I trusted not that the king's grace, my brother, would not be displeased at so little a thing, considering the case that I stand in, which was never worse than since my last coming into Scotland. For I am fain to put away such jewels as I have, for I get never penny of my living; and the comptroller that hath lent me this year will not lend me no more, for I am owing to him of his own six hundred pounds; and thus I wit not what to do without I be helped. And I trust, my lord Dacres, the king's grace, my brother, will not let me be undone and shamed; and therefore I pray you heartily, my lord, as my special trust stands in you, to let me wot as far as you may, how the king my brother's mind stands to me, and your counsel. Also wit you that the lords here desire me to put the king, my son, in my house of Stirling, which I will not do without the king's grace my brother's pleasure; for he caused me to get them again. And send me your counsel what I shall do, and cause a servant of

yours to come to me to Stirling; for there is a great matter that I dare not write it, for it may do me hurt. And make him some errand to my lord of Arran, and say that you command him to see me ere he come to you. No more at this time, but God have you in his keeping, and haste this bearer to me, and your own servant right soon after.

Written with my hand,

Your friend,

MARGARET R.

To the Lord Dacres.

LETTER XCII.

Catherine of Aragon, Queen of Henry VIII., to Claude of France, Queen of Francis I.

A.D. vers. 1521.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, E. I. FOL. 1. *French, a draught much burnt.*]

*** The date of the following letter is about 1521, as appears by the allusion to the intended marriage between the princess Mary and the dauphin of France. During her visit in France at the celebrated field of cloth of gold, queen Catherine had contracted an intimacy with the amiable but unfortunate French queen. This friendship seems to have reconciled Catherine to the close union then intended between their husbands, a union naturally prejudicial to the interests of the emperor, her nephew; or at least, like a good wife, she had learned to acquiesce in the wishes of her lord, even in a point which concerned her so nearly as the marriage of her only child. So little did

Catherine of Aragon intermeddle with politics, that the present is the only state letter of hers, addressed to a foreign potentate, known to be in existence.[a]

[My good sister and cous]in,

I have by your esquire of the stable [received your good and] affectionate letters, and I assure you that [I have been much] and very greatly consoled at having heard [the good] news, health, estate, and prosperity in [which is my] very dear and most beloved good son, and yours the dauphin. A[nd believe] what by your said esquire you will similarly hear, not only of the good health, estate, prosperity, and news of the king my husband, of me and of my daughter the princess, [but also] the affection, good will, and very great desire that the king my said lord and husband and I have to the good and [continuance] of the good love, friendship, and fraternal intelligence and alliance which now is between the two kings our husbands, and their kingdoms, which I hold inseparable, and ever

[a] Amongst the Miscellaneous Exchequer documents is a letter from Elizabeth, queen of Denmark, to her "dearest aunt," queen Catherine, dated March 4th, 1518, from which it seems she corresponded with that princess. *2d series, No.* 2690, Chapter-house. A considerable number of the Miscellaneous Exchequer documents, being a continuation of those deposited in the Rolls-house, still remain in the Chapter-house, where they were inspected July 26th, 1845. They only await the processes of cleaning, flattening, and repairing, after which they will be transferred to the Rolls-house. They are of the most heterogeneous character, consisting in fact of all the documents not belonging to any particular class, which are discovered in the clearing processes now in active operation at the Chapter-house.

pray God that it may continue, which I desire above all things, and for my part shall exert myself for it[a] as I have always done and shall do. However, I will cease writing you a longer letter, except praying you that from time to time[b] I may be participant of your good news, and of those of my said son the dauphin. Also, if there be any thing in which I could do you pleasure, I will do it with very good heart, as she who considers herself and wishes ever to continue,

Your good sister and cousin,

CATHERINE.

To my good sister and cousin the queen
Claude of France.

LETTER XCIII.

Mary Queen-Dowager of France to Cardinal Wolsey.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. III. 4, FOL. 58, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Original.*]

*** Having presented to our readers a considerable portion of the correspondence of Mary Tudor, during the most eventful period of her life, it may not be unacceptable to add a few of her letters written when, in the retirement of domestic life, she enjoyed with the husband of her choice the happiness she had braved so much to purchase. Although Mary was a frequent guest at her brother's court, of which she was the pride and the ornament, she and the duke

[a] "Et de ma part y tiendray la main."
[b] "Que je puisse [de temps] a aultre."

lived much in the country, partly from choice and partly to enable Suffolk, by a consistent economy, to pay off the large debts he had contracted to the royal exchequer. The present letter refers to the payment of Mary's French dowry, with which she could ill dispense, as she and Brandon had made peace with Henry VIII. by promising him immense sums of money from her foreign revenues.[a] The other two relate to the promotion of two of her servants.

My lord,

In my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. So it is, divers of my rights and duties concerning my dote in France have been of late time stayed and restrained, in such wise as I nor mine officers there may not have nor receive the same, as they have done in times past; being to my damages therein, and to their great trouble many ways, as my trusty servant George Hampton, this bearer, shall show unto you, to whom I pray you to give credence in the same. And, my lord, in these and in all others, I evermore have and do put mine only trust and confidence in you, for the redress of the same; entirely desiring you, therefore, that I may have the king's grace's my dearest brother's letters, and yours, into France, to such as my said servant shall desire. And by the same I trust my said causes shall be brought to such good conclusion and order now, that I shall from henceforth enjoy my rights there, in as ample wise as I have done heretofore.

[a] Several agreements between them and Henry VIII. on this subject are among the Miscellaneous Exchequer documents, 2d series, Nos. 200, 717, 788.

And, so it may stand with your pleasure, I would gladly my said dearest brother's ambassadors, being in France, now by your good means should have the delivery of all these said letters, with their furtherance of the contents of the same, to that they may do.[a]

And thus, my lord, I am evermore bold to put you to pains without any recompense, unless my good mind and hearty prayer, whereof you shall be assured during my life to the best of my power; as knoweth our Lord, who have you on his blessed tuition.

At Wingfield castle, the third day of August.

Yours assured,

MARY THE FRENCH QUEEN.

To mine especial good lord my Lord Cardinal.

LETTER XCIV.

Mary Queen-Dowager of France to Cardinal Wolsey.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. III. 4, FOL. 55, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Original.*]

Right reverend father in God,

In my heartiest wise I commend me to you. And whereas it was so that at your last being with

[a] To the extent of their power.

my lord and me at Letheringham hall, I did instance you to be good and gracious lord unto my trusty and well-beloved servant Susan Savage, as for concerning the trouble of her brother Antony Savage, in the which premises your grace the same time did promise to shew your gracious favours in all the causes reasonable of the said Antony; and in trust whereof I have caused the said Susan Savage to inquire and bring forth before your grace her said brother upon your foresaid promise. And for because that I have caused him to be brought before you at this time, therefore I do pray you in my most heartiest manner, that according unto your promise to me made you will be good and gracious lord unto the foresaid Antony in all his foresaid causes. And in so doing your grace shall not only do a meritorious deed to be rewarded of God, but also bind me at all times to be as ready to do your grace or any of yours as far pleasures; as knoweth our Lord, who keep your grace.

From Butley abbey,[a] the 27th day of September.

By your loving friend,

MARY THE FRENCH QUEEN.

To the right reverend father in God
my Lord Cardinal.

[a] Several curious particulars of Mary's visits to Butley abbey, her hunting excursions, her pic-nic parties in the woods and gardens, her offerings at the shrine, are given in a curious chronicle by a monk of Butley abbey, of which there is a copy in the Tanner MS. 90. Bodleian library, Oxford.

LETTER XCV.

Mary Queen-Dowager of France to Cardinal Wolsey.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. III. 4, FOL. 52, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Original.*]

My very good lord,

As heartily as I can I commend me unto your good lordship, always thanking the same for the manifold kindness shewed to me and my husband, desiring you of your good continuance. And whereas I am informed by my trusty councillors, sir Humphry Bannister, knight, my chamberlain, and Humphrey Wingfield, esquire, that it pleased you for my sake to grant unto them, for the promotion of a chaplain of mine, the benefice of Grafton Flyford in the county of Worcester, being of the yearly value (as I understand) of twelve marks, and that as now master Belknap hath caused an *office* (inquisition) to be found of the same, by reason whereof, and (as I suppose) he hath asked, or else intendeth to ask, the said benefice of the king my brother for a chaplain of his. Wherefore I beseech your lordship to have in your good remembrance your said grant for my said chaplain, and to provide that my said chaplain be not, by the means of the said master Belknap, disappointed or put from the said

benefice. And thus our Lord have you, my very good lord, in his blessed tuition.

From the manor of Rising, the 17th day of March.

MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE.

To my Lord Cardinal's good lordship.

LETTER XCVI.

Queen Margaret to Lord Dacres. A.D. 1522.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. VI. FOL. 232. *Holograph.*]

*** On the 3d of December, 1521, the duke of Albany returned to Edinburgh, where he was received by the queen in person. One of his first steps was to remove Angus from his office of governor, and to cite him to appear and answer for his crimes. In much alarm, Angus appealed to the still lingering affection of the queen, and by her mediation a year's banishment into France was the sole punishment allotted to him.[a] The duke farther endeavoured to secure Margaret's good will by courteous attention to her pressing necessities. On the 9th December,[b] and again on the 6th of January, 1522, she wrote to her brother, recounting the favours she had received from the governor, and assuring him of his good will towards the preservation of peace with England,[c] but her communication was ill received by the king and his council;[d] for Angus and his party had sent the bishop of Dunkeld to London as their agent, representing in suspicious colours the intimacy between the queen and Albany.[e] Lord Dacres was commissioned to forward to her a series of articles,[f] to

[a] Lesley, p. 397.

[b] Cotton. MS. Caligula, B. I. fol. 187. [c] Ibid. B. VI. fol. 208.

[d] Letter from Wolsey to Dacres, date Feb. 11, 1522. Ibid. B. III. fol. 110 b.

[e] Instructions from Angus to Dunkeld, date December 14, 1521. Ibid. B. VI. fol. 177.

[f] Dated March 6, 1522. Ibid. B. VI. fol. 128.

which the present letter is a reply. The second article is on her inconsistency in uniting with Albany after having so strongly opposed his return, and contains many insinuations against the character of the duke: his causing himself to be acknowledged prince of Scotland on the sudden death of Margaret's younger son, Alexander, and the deceitful character of his present attentions to the queen, which were even suspected to be dishonourable in their character, are especially pointed out. The third article reproves her for her separation from Angus, and for having removed from Edinburgh at dead of night, attended only by the deadly enemy of her husband, sir James Hamilton.[a] To these and the other points named in the articles, Margaret's letter contains a full and detailed reply.

My lord Dacres,

I commend me heartily to you, and wit you that I have received your writing and seen the articles, and understand them at length, which are right sharp, and specially at the ending of them, wherein, in part, I have shewn my mind at length to this bearer, because it were over long to write, but in part I will make you answer in this my writing.

My lord, as (you write) to me to send to the king's grace my brother for my matters, before the taking of the peace betwixt the king's grace my

[a] A full account of this adventure of the queen is given by lord Dacres in a letter to Wolsey, date Dec. 27, 1521, in the Cotton. MS. Caligula, B. I. fol. 3. The character of this Hamilton was oddly given by James V. some years afterwards, at a time when Angus was in disgrace at court. "If," said the king, "I should but once look merely on the earl of Angus, sir James would drop; for, by the wounds of God, for all sir James's bragging, the earl of Angus and he never met but sir James turned ever the back seams of his hose!"—*Letter of John Penven to the master of Angus, date Oct.* 22, 1526, *Cotton. MS. Caligula, B. III. fol.* 293.

brother and this realm, and that my matters may be seen for, and that I may be answered and obeyed of my living, in that point I shall send a servant of mine, declaring the verity how I have been entreated since my last coming into Scotland, which I have written of before at length to the king's grace my brother, and to you. Howbeit I got no remedy, and the last peace that was taken was done without me, or any way made for me, but a general fair word, which did me little profit; for this realm will set little by me if they may get the peace without me or my request, which is more with the king's grace's honour to do it for my sake and at my request, considering I am mother to the king of this realm.

Also, my lord, I came at the desire of the king's grace my brother, sent to me by friar Henry Jedward, which said many good words to me on the king my brother's commandment, and that there should not (be) no peace taken but at my request. And more; I came to my lord of Angus against all the lords of Scotland's will, he trusting to have had help of the king's grace my brother to have borne forth my good quarrel, for it were overmuch to me to strive against all the realm, considering how it stands betwixt my lord of Angus and the lords, and they not agreed.

My lord, as to my lord of Angus, if he had desired my company or my love he would have shewn him more kindly than he hath done

now of late, when I came to Edinburgh to him, he took my house without my consent, and withholds my living from me, which he should not do of reason, nor that is not the way to desire my good will; and I to have taken both great displeasure of Scotland and trouble, and had no help of the king's grace my brother, nor no love of my lord of Angus, and he to take my living at his pleasure and dispose it: methinks, my lord, you should not think this reasonable, if you be my friend, as I trust you be.

My lord, you remember, at my coming to Edinburgh, I did write at length to you how the lords of Scotland did to my lord of Angus, and that, without I had gotten help of the king's grace my brother I might not bear out our part; for, on the one side, the westland lords and my lord of Angus was forth, and the t'other lords was right sharp upon him, and I desired to know what help I might trust to, and you wrote to me again but lightly that the king my brother would do for me, in general words; but it must be the deed that will help me.

My lord, as to the t'other point, that I bear so good mind to the duke of Albany as you say, and that he gives me but fair words, to put the blame off him that I am not answered of my living; my lord, as to that point, I believe not his fair words, but as he hath done to me in deed; were (it) not (for) the kindness that he hath shewn to me, both of his own monies given to me, and caused the

lords to furnish me of the readiest of the king my son's, I would have been constrained to have put away my jewels and cupboard; and this I did write to you before. My lord, I trust the king's grace my brother will consider me, as I that am his sister, that I must bear *good mind* where I find *good deed*, for as I find I must shew; and I trust his grace will love him the better that he doth for me. And I cannot perceive but that the duke of Albany may do the king's grace my brother as much stead in this realm, and more than any other, which I know well his grace may have any way that he pleases of him.

Also, my lord, where that you speak of the keeping of the king my son, and that the lords that are about him is of the duke's putting; my lord, it is known contrary that the lords put them about the king my son, and I wit well they love the king my son as well as any in this realm, and they were put to him ere I came last in Scotland, as you know. As for other points pertaining to the duke, let him answer for himself; but as for the earldom of March, he makes me no trouble as yet.

My lord Dacres, you should not give so lightly credence to evil tales of me as you do while you know the truth; suppose you bear great favour to my lord of Angus, as I see you do (howbeit I have seen it far otherwise), I must cast me to please this realm, since I have my living here, and f friends but through my good bearing; where

they shall have no cause of reason to hold my living from me, and I think the king's grace should help me the better.

Also where you say that I came out of Edinburgh in the night, that was not; for all the lords knew of my coming away, and I saw no good for me to bide upon there. And where you say I am ruled by the counsel that will never do me good nor honour,—my lord, I did never dishonour to myself nor them that I am come of; nor methinks you should not give credence to that of me, both for the king's grace my brother's sake and the king my father's (whose soul God pardon), and I have made you better cause nor my lord of Angus hath done or any of his: but I know well the bishop of Dunkeld's counsel when he was with you now lately, which hath caused you to write so sharply.[a] And as touching sir James Hamilton, I might not *let* (hinder) him to ride on the way, but he conveyed me not. It was other lords that brought me to Linlithgow, as is known.

My lord, also you write right sharply to me in your last article, saying that I do dishonour to myself that bideth from my lord of Angus, and that I follow them that will be my destruction, and cannot stand with the pleasure of the king's grace my brother, and that I may not look for any favour at the king's grace my brother's hand; for it is thought

[a] Gavin Douglas, the uncle of Angus, who was banished from Scotland and retired to England, where he found an asylum.

that I am sore abused under colour of fair promises, which should bring me to the displeasure of God and my dishonour and undoing at length. My lord, these is sore words and unkindly: if this be the king my brother's mind,—I being his sister,—that evil and false folk shall make such report of me, and so lightly credence to be given to the same, it is right heavy to me; and I may think it strange that my lord of Angus may make the king my brother so displeased at me, without any fault making as shall be well known: wherefore it is no marvel suppose others be unkindly, considering that I took my lord of Angus against all Scotland's will, and did him the honour that I could, where-through I lost the keeping of my sons, my house of Stirling, my rule of the realm which I had by right, that might not have been taken from me, and all this for his sake; and now himself hath shewn him as unkindly to me as is possible, which all the realm knows holds my living from me as far as he may: and above all things, he spake openly dishonour of me, which is no token of love, and I did neither displeasure nor dishonour to him, as is well known. My lord, this (is) not a good way that should cause me to come to my lord of Angus: since I took him at mine own pleasure, I will not be boasted[a] to take him now; and thus I must do the best I may to get my friends, since his grace, that I trusted most in,

[a] *Bostyd* in original, used in the sense of compelled by boasting words.

may be put by me without fault, which I shall never make to his grace, as I shall write at length to him with a servant of mine.

My lord, I would have trusted that you would rather have helped me at the king's grace my brother's hand than to have hindered me: you must hold me excused that I write so plainly, for you have written sharply to me. No more at this time, but God keep you. Written at Stirling, the 11th day of March.

Your friend,

MARGARET R.

LETTER XCVII.

Queen Margaret to Cardinal Wolsey. A.D. 1522.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. VI. FOL. 270. *Original.*]

*** During the whole summer of 1522, constant and often angry correspondence was kept up between queen Margaret and the English council. Her principal correspondent was lord Dacres, warden of the marshes, who treated her with less courtesy than the earl of Surrey had done, of which she bitterly complains. Divers hostile demonstrations had been made on the sides of England and Scotland, each party trying in vain to intimidate the other; but Margaret acted the part of a mediatrix, and even travelled to the scene of contest itself, and by her exertions procured a truce when the flames of war were just bursting forth in fury.[a] This conduct, partially at least,

[a] Lesley, p. 405.

restored her to the good graces of her brother and his council, who expressed themselves highly gratified with her conduct.[a]

On Monday, October 27th, 1522, Albany again went over to France to strengthen his interests there.[b] About this time, an infectious disorder, seemingly the small-pox, broke out with fearful violence in Edinburgh, and, having attacked some members of the royal household, it was deemed necessary to remove the young king to Dalkeith.[c] Margaret was seized with this dreadful malady, and suffered so severely that only two days before the date of the present letter lord Dacres wrote to Wolsey to say that her life was almost despaired of.[d]

My lord,

I commend me unto you in the most hearty manner I can. Please you I have received a writing of yours from Clarencieux, dated at your house beside Westminster, the 12th day of November; which writing has done great consolation and comfort unto me, whereby I know perfectly your good and hearty mind that you have towards me. And of that and the great labours that you have taken for mine affairs and matters at this time, I thank you right heartily; beseeching you affectionately to continue in good mind towards me, and to be my good protector and defender, &c.

My lord, this ambassador, Clarencieux, and one part of the lords of this realm, has convened in Stirling, this 17th day of December, and has pro-

[a] Instructions to Clarencieux, November 10, 1522. Cotton. MS. Caligula, B. VI. fol. 254. Letter from Wolsey to Margaret, November 11, 1522. Ibid. fol. 438.

[b] Dacres to Wolsey, October 31, 1522. Cotton. MS. Caligula, B. II. fol. 327.

[c] The same to the same, Oct. 19, 1522. Ibid. B. III. fol. 16.

[d] Cotton. MS. Caligula, B. I. fol. 157.

claimed the truce and peace to endure till Saint Andrew's day next to come, as Clarencieux will shew you at more length. And as to any provision made to me at this time, the lords has commanded the king my son's comptroller to intromit and uptake all my conjunct feoffments, and the profit of the same, to the king my son's utility and profit, excepting Stirling and Linlithgow, which I hold in my own hand, because they are the principal fortresses and castles of this country. And the said comptroller shall answer to me of so much sums of money as my rental bears and is contained in the same, till the said Saint Andrew's day. And that is all that is done to me at this time, because I was and yet is at *mal-aise* and troubled with sickness, I might not intreat these French ambassadors, nor yet commune with the lords and them for the expedition of my matters, and so I have gotten the worse expedition of them at this time. For there is few in this country that will do for me any good; howbeit that I have done that was possible to me to have them my friends, for I have made their good cause, as God knows; and since I see that it will not be for me in time coming, I will trust no more unto them, and fain would be amongst them that I might trust, &c.

Item, where you bid me in to your writing to take good regard for certain knowledge to be had, as well what diligence shall be done in the advancement of mine affairs, and to ensearch and know

what speed is like to ensue therein, and as I shall perceive to advertise the lord Dacres, &c.; my lord, as to that they have made no redress, nor no good is like to ensue hereafter to me in this country; and I wrote my mind plainly to you, and sent it to the lord Dacres for to have sent the same up to you, trusting that you would have informed the king's grace my brother, and through your good counsel his grace would have put me out of trouble. The lord Dacres would not send my said writing to you, but he sent it again to me, and refused all utterly to send it: of the which I think strange, considering that the king's grace my brother gave command to the lord Dacres, when I was present, to send any writings up to his grace and to you, whensoever I should send any. It is not marvel that Scotchmen be unkind to me, when Englishmen are so unthankful.

My lord, as touching any matters betwixt me and my lord of Angus, I have shewn my mind plainly to Clarencieux, to whom you will give credence, beseeching you to take my part, and if there be any person that would solicit you in my contrary in that matter, that you would give them no credence; for I assure you that I and he shall never *foregather* (live together) nor agree, for certain cause which you shall understand hereafter. I am plain to you, therefore I beseech you to help me out of sorrow, and help us better to part nor to foregather; and doing this you do me a singular pleasure.

My lord, an it please you, you shall recommend me heartily to the king's grace my brother, and thank his grace of his diamond that his grace sent me; and beseech his grace to be good brother unto me, as his grace was ever. And that his grace and you, my lord, must need have me excused that I wrote not to his grace and to you with my own hand at this time, for because my hands and all my body are so full of the small-pox, that I might neither write, nor sit, nor scantly speak; and hereafter, when I may, I shall write with my own hand at length: as knows God, who preserve you evermore in prosperity. At Stirling, the 26th day of December.

My lord, I have sent a token to the king's grace my brother with Clarencieux: it is a ring which his grace sent me of before.

Your friend,

MARGARET R.

LETTER XCVIII.

Queen Margaret to the Earl of Surrey.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. III. 7, FOL. 33, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Original.*]

*** Margaret's anxiety for the safety of the prioress of Coldstream, who, as residing on the borders, had considerable facilities for sending messengers, transmitting intelligence, &c., forms the subject of the two following letters. It seems she wrote also on behalf of her friend to lord Dacres, who promised at her request to spare the

prioress if she did nothing injurious to England,[a] and again to the marquis of Dorset. The latter, in a letter to Henry VIII.,[b] gives reasons for sparing Coldstream, which, had they been known to the queen, would have relaxed her interest in the matter; for it seems that the prioress was acting the part of a double spy, and giving intelligence to the English court of Margaret's movements, while she thought her entirely devoted to her own interests.[c]

My lord,

I commend me heartily to you, and wit you I am informed that you are coming to the borders *fornents* (over-against) Scotland; and there is a good friend and servant of mine which I am beholden to do for, which *winnis*[d] (lives) in the border of Scotland, and nearest to your bounds of England, and is prioress of a poor abbey of sisters called Coldstream; and it is appearing to be great trouble on both the sides, and she is nearest the strait, and that place has been troubled divers times of before. Wherefore I pray you right effectuously, that for my sake that she and the said place may be untroubled; and to have no strait by English men: for they that are good servants and friends to me thinks they should have favours of you for my sake, as I trust you will; and

[a] Letter of Dacres to Margaret, date April 1523. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. III. fol. 10.

[b] Dated April 16, 1523. Cotton MS. Calig. B. III. fol. 255.

[c] An explanation of the regular and clever system of espionage carried on by this prioress occurs in a letter from sir William Eure and George Lawson. Chapter-house Scotch Correspondence, fol. 328, State Paper Office.

[d] Sometimes spelled *wones*. The identity with the verb *wohnen*, to dwell, will at once occur to the German scholar.

I believe she has the king's grace my brother's protection to show; therefore you will show you more kindly to her. I have not been cumbersome to you in my desires, and this is reasonable, which I trust you will not refuse to do, so that she may find kindness with you for my request, and God keep you.

Subscribed with my hand the 25th day of March instant, &c.

Your friend,

MARGARET R.

To my lord of Surrey.

LETTER XCIX.

Queen Margaret to the Earl of Surrey. A.D. 1523.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 257 b. *Holograph.*]

My lord,

I commend me heartily to you, and I have received your writing from James Rutherford, this bearer, and understandeth your writing, and hath done as you desired me in the same writing, as you will understand shortly. And I thank you, my lord, for the great favour and kindness that you did shew to my servant, master John Cantley, for my sake; and the reward that you gave him, which you should not do to my servants, for they are no strangers to you: but I promise you, my lord, that

he hath shewn plainly to all men the good intreatment that he had. Also, my lord, the abbot of Kelso hath prayed me to write to you to be his good lord, and that for my sake you will not let no evil to be done to that place, the which I will pray you to do, and that he may find him the better for my request, with your answer again in that behalf. Also, my lord, touching the prioress of Coldstream, I hear say that you are displeased with her, and that you will burn her place. My lord, I would trust that you will be better lord to her for my sake, considering that I am beholden to her more than to any other of her degree, and doth for me any thing that she can: wherefore I pray you heartily, my lord, for my sake, to do her no hurt, nor let none do her hurt.

And I pray you, my lord, to haste the conduct with this bearer to Coldstream, for I assure you there is great matters ado at this time, and it is too great to write all; and therefore I pray you, my lord, take a plain determination of all matters ere you deliver him, and God keep you.

Written this Saint Catherine's even.[a]

Yours,

MARGARET R.

To my lord of Surrey.

[a] November 25th.

LETTER C.

Queen Catherine of Aragon to Cardinal Wolsey.

[HISTORICAL MS. VOL. I. ART. 31. IN THE PRIVATE COLLECTION OF DAWSON TURNER, ESQ. *Holograph.*]

My lord,

It hath pleased the king to be so good lord unto me as to speak unto Arundel the heir for a marriage to be had between him and one of my maids; and upon this I am agreed with him, having a sum of money that is offered unto him, he shall make her sure jointure during her life, the which she cannot be sure of without the license and good-will of his father, being on life: for the which case I beseech you, good my lord, to be good and gracious lord unto the said Arundel, for business which he hath now to do before you; so that with right you will make a short end, to the intent that he may have a time to go to his father, and make me sure of this said jointure in this present term-time. And if this be painful unto you, I pray you, my lord, pardon me; for the uncertainty of my life and the goodness of my woman causeth me to make all this haste, trusting that she shall have a good husband and a sure living. An God would call me the next day after, the surer it shall appear before him that I intend to help them that be good, and taketh labour

doing me service. And so I make an end, recommending me unto you.

At Ampthill, the 25th day of January.

CATHERINE THE QUEEN.

To my Lord Legate.

LETTER CI.

Elizabeth Countess of Kildare to Cardinal Wolsey. A.D. 1523.

[COTTON. MS. TITUS, B. XI. FOL. 412. *Holograph.*]

*** The writer of the following and several other letters in these volumes was the daughter of Thomas Grey, first marquis of Dorset. Her husband, Gerald Fitz-Gerald, ninth earl of Kildare, was famed for his manly beauty, and they were sincerely attached to each other. He was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland; but his extensive wealth and power having created enemies for him, he was accused of misgovernment, recalled, and the deputyship bestowed on Piers Butler, earl of Ormond, his brother-in-law. In January 1523 he returned to his own country, when the quarrel ensued between him and Ormond which forms the subject of the present letter. Ormond on his part accused Kildare of treason; and the matter was at length, at the intercession of the marquis of Dorset, referred to commissioners, who found Kildare "not guilty;" and in August 1524 he was restored to his deputyship.[a] The earl did at last fall a victim to the malice of his enemies, and died in the Tower in 1534.

In my most humble manner I recommend me unto your grace, beseeching your grace to be good

[a] Collins' Peerage, vol. vi. p. 140; Dugdale's Baronage, vol p. 720.

and gracious lord unto my lord my husband in such pursuits as his servants pursueth for him unto your grace, that it may appear unto them that your grace is somewhat the better unto them at this my humble petition. For as yet my said lord and husband hath not had any great profit by me, yet I find him as good and kind unto me always as any man may be to his wife. Humbly thanking your grace for that it pleased your grace to remember me to my lady my mother, as touching my marriage-money, when she was before your grace. *Asserting* (certifying) your grace that I am in continual fear; and thogh[a] of the king's deputy's sore and unfavourable demeanour unto my said lord. It is commonly noised here, that if the said deputy might have my said lord at any advantage that he would utterly destroy him; of the which I have known him twice in one morning warned ere he rose out of his bed. As I hear say, the cause why that he is so cruel disposed towards him is, for that my said lord refused to indent[b] to have taken part with him against the heirs of the late earl of Ormond, which pretendeth title to the said earldom, in case the king's grace had willed my said lord to the contrary; which clause in no wise he would be contented withal, but would have had my said lord bound, without any exception. For the which he doth not only oppress my said lord's friends and servants to the extremity, but also main-

[a] So in MS. [b] *Endent* in orig.

taineth the king's Irish rebels against him continually. And now of late, since May last past, the said deputy hath broken divers castles longing to my said lord and to his friends, which castles was among the king's Irish rebels, and were a great defence for the king's English subjects; not only these, but divers other injuries and wrongs, daily to my said lord, his friends and servants, too long to me to write of unto your grace. And my said lord suffereth patiently the same, fearing the king's displeasure; and if it were not therefore, little would he suffer such wrongs as the said deputy doth unto him, his friends and servants. My lord complains to the king's council here still thereof, and the deputy will not be ruled by them, neither my said lord dare not stir himself, for fear of the king's displeasure; so that he hath no remedy, unless it be by the king and your grace. And it feareth me full sore that my said lord is like to take great harm in the meanwhile; beseeching your grace, for the love of God, to help for the expedition of the redress hereof, which is needful both to my said lord and to most part of all the king's subjects in this land. As knoweth God, who have your noble grace in his blessed keeping.

From my lord's manor of Maynooth,[a] the 25th day of May. Yours,

ELIZABETH KILDARE.

To my Lord Cardinal's grace.

[a] Maynooth was one of the principal residences of the earl Kildare. Amongst the Chapter-house historical documents, M

LETTER CII.

Queen Margaret to the Earl of Surrey. A.D. 1523.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. II. FOL. 35.]

*** During the absence of the duke of Albany the inconstant queen had again veered round, and having quarrelled with the governor's party in Scotland was anxious, before the expected return of the duke, to remove her son from the tutelage under which he had been placed by the governor, and to restore him to a nominal independence, but to be in reality under her guidance and that of her English faction; or, failing of this, she wished herself to retire to England before Albany's return.

My lord,

I commend me heartily unto you. And I have received your writing this Saint Bartholomew's even, whereby I perceive your good and hearty mind toward me and the king my son, whereof I thank you right heartily, and I pray God that I may deserve it. My lord, as to the first, you know how I have solicited you to labour, at the king's grace my brother's hand, for to have regard to the king my son's welfare, which lies in his hand, and especially now at this time; or else not. As to the second point, you know, my lord, the good writing that I got from the king's grace, my brother, through your

of the 1st series, is an account of the wardrobe of Maynooth, probably taken after the attainder of the earl of Kildare, of tapestries, beds, coverlets of imagery, hangings of arras, Turkey carpets, cushions, &c. The plate was valued at 1000*l.* The earl had more than 1000 horses in his stud, and his kine were estimated at 1000.

good labour; and thereafter how William Haderington was sent to me and to what purpose, whom to I did shew my plain mind to be shewn to you; which was, that the king's grace my brother might never do better for the king my son's weal than he might have done now at this time, and much honour to himself, which as yet his grace may do, an it be his pleasure, and to win Scotland from France, to be for him,—which methinks should be most tender to his grace, next his own children. To the third point, when that you wrote that you would that I made policy amongst the lords of Scotland that the king my son may come forth and be at his liberty; as to that, my lord, there is no creature living that would it so fain as I: but that lies most in the king's grace my brother's hands, as you may well consider. One way is, you know how the lords are blinded with the duke of Albany, both for awe and for gifts of benefices; and all is at his gifts, and that he gives to hold them at his opinion with part of money that the French king sendeth them at his request. And as to the king's grace my brother's part, he has neither essayed this realm with policy nor force, whereby his grace put it never to the proof; and that is the way that may best bring it to a good point, and without one of these ways it cannot be well. Therefore, my lord, if the king's grace my brother's mind be to the weal and surety of the king my son, his nephew, as I trust firmly it be, he must shew it by one of these two ways, either by way

of force, or by good entreating of the lords. For you may well consider, my lord, that the lords will be right loath and right afraid to leave the governor's ways, without that they may find some surety to take their part and to defend them. This being done by the king's grace my brother's help and power, I know well the lords would take a plain part against the governor, and be good Scotchmen to their king, which they dare not do now.

And as to this point I have communed with them, and felt their minds. Wherefore I pray you, my lord, as my great trust is in you, that you will cause the king's grace to be hastily advertised in this matter, and that you may know his pleasure and mind hereunto, for the time is right short—but until Monday come eight days; for that is the day set for the gathering of the lords in Edinburgh, and has continued the parliament while that day; and thereafter to take purpose either to take the king my son forth, and to put him at freedom, or else to hold him longer in for the governor's pleasure. Thus, my lord, I advertise you of it that will be done; and what remedy may be done is in the king's grace my brother's hand, both for the weal and surety of the king my son, and the utter destruction of him.

Another way I assure you, my lord, that of his age I believe not there be in the world a wiser child, nor a better hearted, nor that dare better take upon him in so far as he may; but he wants

nothing but help to bear him forth in his good quarrel. And I assure you, upon mine honour, that he loves not the governor nor no Frenchman; and (this) the king my brother will find, an his grace make him help. And as to his coming forth at freedom, he will not bide in no longer than Monday come eight days, without he be holden by force by the lords; and that he saith plainly, that no good Scotchman will hold him in one house against his will. Whereof the Frenchmen that are here are right displeased, and maketh all the ways that they can to stop it by way of money giving, and other fair promises. Wherefore I pray you, my lord, since that it stands upon this point, and that you say that the king's grace my brother and my lord cardinal (think) that I, being here, may do much good, and cause the king my son to be bold, and to take well upon him; as to that, I dare take it upon me that he shall do it, but when that is done it availeth not, without that he have help to bear it forth, and that must be the king's grace my brother's part, and that is either to send an army and power, and to cause the lords of force to leave the governor's ways and to be true to their king, or else by fair treaty and part of good deeds to get them at his way, and to leave France, which may be done for little thing; which methinks it (ought) not to be left undone for his grace's honour, and I trust shall be to his pleasure.

My lord, you have desired me to write you

plainly my mind, and what I would that you did. Wherefore I do write this plainly, one way, that the king's grace my brother may understand that there shall be no fault unto me, but that I shewed you the truth of all things; I find you of so good mind toward me and the king my son. And therefore, my lord, help now my son to be the king, my brother's own, and no other's, which is kindly to him. And I promise you that he trusts more in the king's grace my brother, than he doth in all the world. I can say no more, but I trusted, when William Haderington passed from me, that there should have been other things done, which methinks is gone aback. Wherefore, an it be so, I should never trust in no good words nor writing; nor I will never bide none trust, without I see the deed. Wherefore, my lord, cause me to have some special writing to the lords from the king's grace my brother, whereby they may have some occasion to bide from the governor's purpose, or else my labouring will be in vain; and then I shall labour right well when they may see what I have for me, and that the king's grace desireth the weal and surety of his nephew. And if the lords fail, then he has a good quarrel upon them.

My lord, as to myself, where that you write that the king's grace my brother has said good words of me in his writing, and that he is contented of my coming away, and that I shall be honourably intreated, the which I trust his grace will do for his

honour; for the better I be, the more may I do him honour and stead, and be it not that the king my son come forth now, I desire not to bide into Scotland. Wherefore I pray you, my lord, to solicit for me that I may come away, for I will get no good done to me, an it be not through the king my son; for the Frenchmen that are here and I are *discorded* (at discord). And therefore I know well my lord governor will do me the evil that he can, and that is because I would have the king my son forth. And a *sober* (small) thing that I had of the governor, he has caused to take it from me these three months, and he has discharged it. Wherefore I have nothing now to hold up my honest expenses, without I lay my cupboard in pledge, which is not to the king my brother's honour. And this is because I will not apply to their ways, contrary to the forthcoming of my son. Therefore I pray you, my lord, advertise me what I shall do, and what shall be done to the helping of the king my son; and that I be advertised before the day, so that I may solicit the lords to my purpose. And, failing of this, you will never get such time; for, come the governor, as they trust he will, you will not get it so easily done, neither for the weal of my son nor for the king's grace's honour. And as to the peace that William Haderington came to me upon, I would his grace offered it for my request that I sent before, and that I may be the doer of it; and better now

than hereafter, and the lords will let the king forth with the better will. And your hasty answer in all these things, and God have you in his keeping.

Written at Edinborough, this Saint Bartholomew's day.[a]

Headed, "Copy of the Queen of Scot's letter sent to the Earl of Surrey."

In reply to this letter Surrey wrote to tell the queen that William Haderington had not, as she supposed, discussed with him the best modes to bring over the Scottish lords, but that they should neither want men nor money; and that at an hour's warning he would himself come to the borders to commune with them. He assures her that the king of England will greatly rejoice at the "towardness and boldness" of the young king; and in answer to her complaint that Henry refrains from using force against Scotland, assures her that more harm has been done this season in the war than for many years past.[b] He also wrote her a letter which she might, if she thought fit, shew to the Scotch lords, containing a vehement tirade against the duke; but the last article she was to keep secret. It was, that in case she was obliged to retire to England, she should undertake the office of mediatrix of the border strifes as a sort of blind; and retire on this pretence with her plate, jewels, and "stuff" to her house of Boukle, whence he would fetch her away suddenly with an armed force.[c]

LETTER CIII.

Queen Margaret to King Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 236. *Holograph.*]

*** The duke of Albany had pledged himself to return to Scotland before the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin,[d] and having failed

[a] August 24th.

[b] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. II. fol. 37. [c] Ibid. fol 39.

[d] Dacres to Wolsey, Oct. 31st, 1522. Ibid. fol. 327.

to redeem that pledge, Margaret became intensely anxious to mature her plans and carry them into effect before he did return. To secure this object, she sent letter after letter of earnest entreaty to England. The four following letters, written in rapid succession, are curious, and in some respects admirable specimens of special pleading.

Dearest brother the king,

In my most humblest wise I can I recommend me to your grace. Pleaseth you to wit that I have received your writing, written the second day of September, the which I think right good, and thank your grace right humbly, and for my part shall cause your good mind to be known for the weal and surety of the king my son.

Dearest brother, it will please you to understand in what case and point the king my son standeth, as I have written divers times to my lord of Surrey, whom methinks hath done his part and diligence to advertise your grace in such things as I have written to him, as I perceive well by my answers. And now, to shew your grace plainly, the time that you may best help the king my son is now, and to put him out of his enemies' hands, and that his person may be in surety.

The first thing is to send to the lords, to see if they will leave the governor's ways, and do that they should do to their prince, and to put the realm to good rule, that your grace for your part will be contented to give them peace, that there may be good concord betwixt your said realm and this, and to help them, and supply this realm against

any that will do it any trouble, with any other ways that may be found; and they that will not regard to the weal and surety of the king and his realm, that they shall have all the evil that you may do to them: and this I pray your grace to write to the lords, and desire their answers. Secondly, I have spoken with the lords, and understand their minds, which I find dare not do nothing for fear that they have of the governor, nor dare not displease him; which is a heavy case to the king my son, and a great danger that his person and his realm is in. Wherefore, dearest brother, it is of force that you must cause the lords to leave the governor's ways, and by fair treaty or by very force; and this must be done in all haste, or else (the) king my son will be destroyed: considering now that the duke is forth of this realm, and the lords are not bound to him since our Lady-day of the Assumption,[a] that was his promise to come. Now seeing that they are unbound, now is the time to change[b] them, and to cause them to leave the governor's ways; and this I beseech your grace that it may be done in all diligence, for your honour and the weal and surety of the king my son.

Also, dearest brother, it will please you to wit that I was in before the lords, when they were sitting in parliament, and prayed them, in the king my son's name, to do the thing that might be best for the weal of him and his realm, and to lay by all

[a] August 15th. [b] *Charge* in MS.

other ways, and be no longer abused with fair words of France, as they would answer to God and their king; and also that he desires to be forth at his liberty, and not to hold him as a prisoner. To this the lords said they should advise; and hath ordained the king to pass forth a mile about Stirling, with three lords to keep him, that he pass no farther bounds: that is, the earl of Cassilis, the bishop of Galloway, and the lord Fleming, which I promise you loveth the governor better than he doth the king. Wherefore I think that his person is in danger, and for that cause I have desired him to be removed. Thus, dearest brother, I beseech you to consider what danger he is in, and to put remedy hastily to the same.

Touching the lords, I find the chancellor, my lord of Aberdeen, and the earl of Argyle, best minded, as they say in their words; but I see no great deeds as yet: but as far as I can find, they desire to be secure of you and your help, and to have peace betwixt these two realms, whereby that they might have cause to leave the ways of France; and without the surety of that, and to help them to bear it forth, they were right great fools, they say, to do it. Wherefore, dearest brother, it standeth all in your hand now at this time; and if you will not do it at this time, I promise you I will never write more in this matter, nor your grace will never get so good a time.

And touching myself, I have gotten so great dis-

pleasure of the governor for this that I do, that he will do me all the evil he may, and all Frenchmen. Wherefore I pray your grace give me your license to come in your said realm, with such as are my true servants, that getteth evil for my sake, and that they may be received with me, as my trust is your grace will do to me, your sister; and that you will advertise me your mind in this, and all other things above written, what I shall trust to. Also I promise your grace, you doing at this time as I write to you touching the king my son, helping him forth of his enemies' hands, and put him in surety, you will have all the hearts of the common people in this realm; for they would never see the governor. Since it is thus, overlook not your honour and the weal of your sister's son, which is nearest to you, next your own children, and will be most kindly to your grace; and it is a righteous quarrel that you have.

I pray you, dearest brother, to pardon me that I write so plainly, for now it standeth upon the point; and were not that this bearer is my trusty and true servant, and ever hath been to the king my husband,—whom God pardon,—and to me, I durst not have written so plainly; which is called Patrick Sinclair. Wherefore I beseech your grace humbly to be his good prince for my sake, and that you will give commandment to the earl of Surrey and the lord Dacres that he may be received and well treated in your said realm, if he hath need; and

this your grace will do for my request, and let me be advertised in all haste of your mind and pleasure, and I shall labour here at the lords' hands that your grace shall be content: as God knoweth, whom preserve you.

Written 13th day of September, at Edinburgh.

Your humble sister,

MARGARET.

To the right high and mighty prince, my dearest brother, the King's grace.

LETTER CIV.

Queen Margaret to the Earl of Surrey. A.D. 1523.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. II. FOL. 274. *Holograph.*]

My lord,

I have written my mind at length to you and to the king's grace my brother, which I pray you to haste me the answer in all haste possible, and to desire the king's grace to send some servant of his with his mind to the lords, that he may understand plainly their mind. And I desire to wit the king my brother's mind, if that he will that I cause the king my son to come forth; for I know well that, an he come not forth ere the governor come, he will not be let forth after, but held perforce, which will be utter destruction to him. And this I know will be true, therefore see remedy now in time. And

will his grace let you make help, if any will rise against him, he may come forth safely; and otherwise I can do nothing, for it will be dangerous to him. Also I would that the king my brother would essay to break the chancellor from the governor, and promise him to do him pleasure; and also to the earl of Argyle, and to the bishop of Aberdeen, for, be these at his way, I set not by all the other lords: for these are the greatest men and may do most, and as I can find, *sober* (small) thing will do it. Wherefore cause this to be done in all haste, and let me have answer again. I assure you that I can cause the king to come forth, and charge his lords to come to him under pain of treason; but then I am not sure who[a] will take part with him, and that I think dangerous. Therefore I can do nothing while I get answer from you; and think well an the governor come in the mean time that I will not have so great power of the king my son. Therefore do as you think, and let the king's grace my brother see this my letter; for I did forget to write in this behalf to his grace. Wherefore I pray you, my lord, make my excuse to his grace, and pray his grace to remember that I do that is in me to advertise him of all things, that there be no fault found in me hereafter; as God knoweth, whom keep you. Written the 13th day of September.

Yours,

MARGARET R.

To my lord of Surrey.

[a] *Vay* in original.

LETTER CV.

Queen Margaret to the Earl of Surrey. A.D. 1523.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. VI. FOL. 293.]

*** Surrey's reply to the preceding letter was strongly to advise the queen to free her son and cause the lords to swear fealty to him, promising ample assistance in men and money if any proved disobedient.[a] The present is Margaret's rejoinder.

My lord,

I commend me heartily to you, and I have received your writing this Friday from Patrick Sinclair, and understandeth at length; which methinks right good and well devised in all ways, and there shall be no fault in it that I may do possibly. And as touching the taking forth of my son, he shall be forth Monday or Tuesday, and come to Edinburgh, or he shall be held perforce; and then you shall be advertised in haste. And as to your coming into Scotland, the lords is advertised of it, but methink they set nought by it; for they say that you dare not come inward nearer them than this border; and that they say they set not by, for they will do as much ill hereafter. Therefore, my lord, if you think at this time to cause the lords leave the governor's ways, and the part of Fran

[a] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. II. fol. 196.

you must come nearer Edinburgh, or else to the same; for I assure you, if you will do it, that the lords will do what you will desire, both for the taking of the king forth and for peace. And if you do not, no nearer than the March or Teviotdale, all the great expenses and costs will be for nought; for the lords set not by the hurt of the poor folks, but laughs at the same: and this is of truth. Wherefore, my lord, either come to Edinburgh or near about it, and I shall take upon me that the lords shall send to you, and make offer themselves, and put forth the king; for I assure you that a thousand men, with artillery, may do with Edinburgh and the lords in the same as they will, without any impediment, an they come suddenly, as now you may. And, failing of this, you will neither get the king forth nor yet the band of France destroyed, which will be utter destruction to the king my son and his realm.

Therefore now it is in your hand, do as you will, and either go to it shortly or let it be; for an you first destroy the poor commons, you will *tine* (lose) all their hearts, and the lords will not set by you: But first put the lords in fear of this town; but I would you did no evil in it, but that I may get it assured for my sake, so that the lords will do any good way. For by any ways I would they left the governor's ways, or else it will be utter destruction to the king my son and his realm. And this is the

nearest way to mend it. And I assure you that of great time you will not get a contrary. Think well, my lord, that I would not say this to you an if it were not of verity. And if I fail at this time, I will never trust to have good to me and my son. Wherefore, my lord, I pray you, failing of this, to let me come into that realm with my true servants; for I will come away, an I should steal out of it. Wherefore I pray you, my lord, let me be advertised what you will do into this in all haste, with this bearer, Patrick Sinclair; for I dare not trust to no other, and he will make great diligence. Praying you to be good lord to him for my sake, and to do for him when he desires you in his need. Also, my lord, I thank the king's grace my brother humbly of the great kindness that he shews to the king my son and me, which we can never deserve; but we are his own, and shall be at his commandment. And, my lord, for your part, I thank you heartily, for my son and I is greatly beholden to you for the great labour you make for us; wherefore I pray God that I may do you stead and pleasure.

Headed, "The copy of the letter sent by the Queen of Scots to L. Surrey."

LETTER CVI.

Queen Margaret to the Earl of Surrey. A.D. 1523.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 181. *Holograph.*]

My lord,

This t'other letter that I send now is by the counsel of the lords, which methinks in a part is not evil, for they desire to have you write to them your mind plainly, whereby that they may have the more cause for them to take the matter plainly, and to make you a good answer; and I would you wrote plainly to them, saying that the king my brother desires the weal and surety of the king my son, as you have written to me before, and that it is a suspicious thing to think that the duke of Albany should be governor and tutor to him, considering that the said duke holdeth him next the crown after the king my son; and this all the world will think, but they that would have the destruction of the king. And therefore, seeing that he is the king your master's sister's son, he hath great suspicion in that, and therefore he will have it amended, or else he will not desist from making of war, and doing displeasure to them that doth assist to the same, with all such other clauses as you did write into my letter that you sent last, which was right well and kindly; and I think this (ought) to be done in all haste possible. And say, in your said

writing to them, that I have desired you right heartily to write to the lords your mind, that you may have their answers, and that they do it with haste; and, failing that they take not forth the king and discharge the governor betwixt this and Wednesday, and they to send you a plain answer, I would counsel you to do forth on the sharpest manner, as I did write of before; for else it is done but to abuse you and to cause you to forbear to do evil. And therefore I pray you, my lord, to haste this letter to the lords with your answer to me, that I may shew the same for my excuse, and that I do my part; and, in the meantime, to be the soberer and do the less evil, for it will be the more occasion to the lords to go to good agreement; and that I would were no stop, so that I might bring it to any good way. And God have you in his keeping. Written this Sunday.

I did not shew the one of the letters that you sent last, for it was not needful to shew.

Yours,

MARGARET R.

My lord,—I send you here inclosed the instrument that I took yesterday before the lords for my discharge, and this I said mine own mouth them; therefore, I pray you keep it, for I ha the principal.

To my lord of Surrey.

LETTER CVII.

Queen Margaret to the Earl of Surrey. A.D. 1523.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. VI. FOL. 379. *Holograph.*]

*** Through the dilatoriness of the English, and their distrust of the Scotch, who on their part feared to place much reliance on their late foes, the opportunity so favourable for resisting the power of Albany was lost. Surrey reproached the Scotch lords with their indecision,[a] whilst he wrote to England that the queen had no influence with the nobles, that he had not sufficient force to march to Edinburgh, and believed the queen's principal motive in urging it to be that she might, under his protection, retire safely to England.[b] The secret views of Henry and his council were decidedly opposed to her leaving Scotland, they having made a cool calculation that the expenses of maintaining her, &c. would be greatly increased by her coming to England.[c] On the 23d of September Albany landed at Kirkcudbright, and summoned the lords to a parliament on Michaelmas day, in which he persuaded them to an open rupture with England. Margaret seems at first to have wished secretly to retire to England, for she sent to try to borrow horses to ride to Newbottle;[d] but this scheme was abandoned, probably from its impracticability, and the queen performed the important part of informer to the English government, which her situation rendered her peculiarly competent to fill. The dastardly conduct of the governor in this war excited vehement indignation amongst the Scots.[e]

[a] Surrey to queen Margaret, Sept. 25th, 1523. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. I. fol. 182.

[b] Surrey to Wolsey, Sept. 21st, 1523. Ibid. B. VI. fol. 292.

[c] Wolsey to Surrey, Oct. 7th, 1523. Ibid. fol. 452. And Surrey to Wolsey, Oct. 10th. Ibid. fol. 283.

[d] Letter from a servant of the chancellor to the prioress of Coldstream, dated "this Monday," probably Sept. 27th, 1523. Ibid. B. III. fol. 179.

[e] Several curious details of the campaign are given in a letter from Wolsey, dated Dec. 4th, 1523, to Sampson and Jerningham, ambassadors at the imperial court. Middlehill MS. 4875, fol. 41.

My lord,

I commend me heartily to you, and wit you that I have received the king's grace my brother's writing with yours this Tuesday, whereof I am right glad that his grace is contented with me, and shall do my diligence in all things that I trust may be his pleasure and to your part. My lord, I am greatly beholden to you for your good mind toward me, and the great diligence that you make for to bring my good matters to pass, which e[ver] I pray God that I may deserve, and I thank you right heartily of the same. Also, my lord, where that you desire me in your said writing to advertise you of such things as I can get knowledge of, and what is the duke's purpose, I assure you that I leave nothing undone that I may on that behalf, but all things is kept from me as far as the duke may: in so far that he addresseth all his matters into Glasgow, four-and-thirty miles from Edinburgh, and there he hath holden his council with the lords, and hath determined to come upon England with all the power that they may possibly, and thus to pass forward this day fifteen days. This is of truth: therefore, my lord, if ever England made them against Scotland, make them now right strong; I assure you, since Scotland was Scotland never made so strong. And therefore I w look upon your weal and honours, for you sharply assayed. But to shew you of truth that the duke will pass to east borders or the

promise you as yet there is none that knows, for the duke will not shew his mind to no Scotchman. But, as I can understand, he will pass himself to the west border, with the great power and artillery, and he will send part of folk and artillery to the east borders; therefore take good await upon both the borders. And when that you send to me again the king's grace my brother's mind, you shall be advertised farther, as I can get sure knowledge of all things: praying you, my lord, to continue towards me in your good mind, as you have shewn you, and to help to bring me to some good way, while that the king my son may do for me; and it that the king's grace would do for me, I would it were soon, for the longer the worse. Now I will advertise you what he hath brought with him, and this I promise you is of truth: first, he hath eight-and-twenty cannons, and four double cannons that are far greater than any that was brought to Norham at the field; also he hath great pavasies going upon wheels with the artillery, to shoot and to break the hosts asunder, and of these he hath many, and every one of them hath two sharp swords before them, that none may touch them. They have *by* (besides) this, great number of smaller artillery of all sorts, and much powder, with all them that pertains to it; and twelve ships with victuals and wine. And of these they have sent four of their ships, with wine and flour, and four great cannons, to the west border. Also there is

come four thousand footmen, an hundred men of arms, there is fourscore of barded[a] horse. Thus all the Frenchmen are numbered in all six thousand men; and I hear say that they shall be put in the vanguard, because he giveth not great trust to the Scotchmen. Also they look daily for three thousand *Almains* (Germans) to come the first fair wind that blows. Also I promise you that every body saith that three hundred thousand hath not made this great provision; also they have many crossbows and small hand guns, and pikes, and halberds a great number: and it is ordained, that all the boroughs of every town shall bide and keep their towns, but that they shall furnish forth carriages for seventeen days to bide forth. I promise you, my lord, they trust to win Berwick with other places, as they speak right plainly and despitefully,[b] which doth me great displeasure. Wherefore I pray you, my lord, to cause the king's grace to look well upon this matter, both for his weal and honour and the weal of his nephew: for, an they win any advantage now, my son and I are undone, he will be so high in his mind. And think surely that I would not write this an it were not of truth. I can do no more for my part but advertise you of all th that I know, and that I shall not fail. Al say that Richard de la Pole should cou into England with a power, and that

[a] Armed; so used only in reference to horses.—See sary, *sub voce.*

[b] *Dyspytwsyly* in original.

England that will take his part; therefore look well about you. Now I have shewn you, my lord, all things that I know, I pray you that I be not out of remembrance, and to let me have utter answer what I shall trust to, and to devise how I may come away, and to send me part of money, for an it had not been great need that I had, I would not have desired it. For I have nothing to find me my meat with, nor my servants, and my cupboard lying into pledge. And therefore I stand in a heavy case; that, an the king's grace help me not, I must of force desire help of the duke, and then he will cause me to do as he will, or else he will give me nothing. Thus I pray you, my lord, to consider my part, and what case that I stand in, and would fain please the king's grace my brother, as far as lieth in my power. Also wit you that the duke came not towards me as yet, but he sendeth me very good writings of his own hand, and many fair words as can be devised; but I give no credence to them, nor I desire never to be in his company, so that I may be sure of the king's grace my brother, that he will stand kind prince and brother to me, as my trust is he will do.

My lord, I pray you keep my writings secretly, for an the duke get any knowledge, I will be destroyed: and when you send to me, cause Patrick Sinclair to be right wise in his doing; and I pray you, my lord, to thank him of the good service he doth to me, and that you will be good lord to him for my sake, and haste me your mind

igain, and take my good will, though I cannot
vrite well; and God have you in his keeping.

Written this Tuesday.

Yours,

MARGARET R.

My lord,—I had forgotten to write to you the manner how it is ordained. First, the earl of Arran hath all the rule of Teviotdale and the Marches, and all Lothian, with Stirlingshire and Linlithgow. The earl of Huntley hath all the rule of the north parts, the earl of Lennox all the westland parts, the earl of Argyle the highland men. All these to be ready upon Tuesday come fifteen days. And the lord Maxwell abideth upon his own border, and all that country to answer to him. And thus there is none that knoweth what part that he will pass to, for where that they are ordained to come it is alike to both the borders, and that will be done in haste. Also wit you that I trust that the duke shall be in Stirling this Wednesday, and speak with the king my son, and upon Saturday into Edinburgh. I durst not pass to Stirling, for I am warned that an I come there I shall be holden there against my will; and therefore I abide in Edinburgh, while I get the king's answer: and God keep you.

Written this Tuesday.

Yours,

MARGARET

To my lord of Surrey.

LETTER CVIII.

Queen Margaret to the Earl of Surrey. A.D. 1523.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. fol. 281. *Holograph.*]

My lord of Surrey,

I commend me heartily to you, and wit you that I have received your writings, with other writings written out of France, which methinks are right good, and I pray God bring them to a good end, to the pleasure of the king's grace my brother. Also, my lord, I thank you of your good remembrance and kind writing, which I pray God that I may quit. And as touching the king my son, thanked be God he is in good health, and I am with him into Stirling, and thinks not to be far from him for any danger that may come, if that I be not put from him by force. I beseech God if that you saw him, so that nobody knew of you but I, and I trust you would be right well contented of him. Also wit you, my lord, that the governor is in Edinburgh, and I saw him not since he came from the unhonest journey; but he thinks no shame of it, for he makes his excuse that the lords would not pass in England with him, and that is my lord of Arran and my lord of Lennox, with other lords, and says that they would have sold him in England, and therefore he hath begun the parliament this Tuesday next coming, and hath sent for all the lords again. I

trust to do little good to them, as they are well worthy; for an they had done as they should, we had been quit of this cumber. As to all matters, I have sent my plain mind of before to you with my servant, master John Cantley; wherefore, my lord, I pray you heartily to do so to me, that I need not to set by the displeasure of the duke, or else I must be content to follow his pleasure, whether it be against the king my son or not; for there is none here that will contrary his pleasure, suppose he do never so evil: and this I assure you. And you know well, my lord, that my living that I should live upon is here, and he may do with it as he pleases. As I have been intreated since my last coming out of England, it is well known; and hath lived (not) like a princess, but like a *sober* (poor) woman, and fain by force to take any money that the duke would give me: as I have written to you of before, and hath gotten no answer of effect. Also you write to me to take good heed to the keeping of the king my son. As to that I shall do that is in me, with part of support of the king's grace my brother, that I need it not to set by the duke, nor his displeasure; you shall see me take it well upon me, and not set by him; and if it be not thus I dare not displease him for I have nothing to hold up my honest t tation to find me. Wherefore, my lord, you consider my part, and shew it to the grace my brother, and beseech his grace t regard to me; for the better that I be, the l

The two following letters explain her feelings at this crisis. The one to Albany is characterised by greater dignity than usually pervades queen Margaret's letters :—

My lord and cousin,

I recommend me humbly to you. I have received your letter from monsieur Gonzolles, and understands his credence, (in) the which are many fair words, as I have had here before ; and when the deed and the word is all one I shall thank you, and I trow it shall be to your honour. Praying you to have remembrance how you have desired to send master John Cantley to my lord of Surrey for to make some good way betwixt you and him, the which I have done the best that I could, thinking well surely to have your good-will to me without changing ; and seeing since you, my lord, and the *laif* (rest) of the lords has ordained that I shall not abide with the king my son, but whiles to come and see him. And if this be reasonable or honourable I report me to the deed ; and I believe in God that hereafter you shall have cause to bethink you of the good and true part I have kept to you, praying God to keep the king my son from evil : for the appearance is not when his mother is put forth of his company, and they put about him that sets nought by to put his life in extreme danger for good or profit to themselves. For one of them, my lord Fleming, as in times bypast he has not governed him well, as is known in Scotland, and as I have shewn of that before to the lords, notwithstanding it is force that I suffer for a little time.

And where you say, my lord, that I should not give credence to them that says evil of you to me, now you shew by your deeds that I have cause to give them credence touching myself; for the most displeasure that I might have in this world, all excepting my life, you and the lords has done to me now, to put me from the company of the king my son. But if there happens any evil, as God keep him, I desire not to be with him. But if the appearance be good of them that is about him, I shall be of good will, the which I pray God give you grace to do for your part; and for my part, I assure you, my lord, that at the departing of master John Cantley I was in all so good will to do for you and your pleasure as was possible to me, as I have shewn more at length to monsieur Gonzolles to shew you. But now I see well my reward, trusting firmly that God shall help me and my just quarrels and cause; and God keep you.

Written the second day of October.

LETTER CX.

Queen Margaret to the Earl of Surrey. A.D. 15

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 279. *Holograph.*]

My lord of Surrey,

When I had written all this letter that I se you with this, there came a *bill* (messenger)

this Tuesday out of Edinborough, that had ridden all night, warning me of the new rule that the governor and the lords hath made at this parliament, and hath concluded, that is to say, they have ordered that the earl of Cassilis, the lord Fleming, the lord Borthwick,[a] these four to be quarterly with the king my son, and the earl of Murray to be daily with the king, and I to come and see my son, and not remain with him. Thus, my lord, I see great appearance of evil and danger to the king my son's person, when that they that are true lords to the king my son be put from him, and them that loveth the governor put to him, and that I know perfectly would have my son destroyed for pleasure of the duke; and, most suspicion of all, they will not that I remain with him, but to come and go. But as yet I am here with my son the king, and shall remain in the despite of the governor, without that he take me away perforce. And therefore, my lord, for God's sake, look well upon this matter; for now is time when such rules is begun for the utter destruction of my son, and that you will see some remedy to this, and to advertise me what I shall do; and if I and the governor discord, what shall be your part to me, and what help I shall get to bear me forth; for he and I shall not agree upon this. I set not by nothing in Scotland, an the king my son be not well. My lord, I pray you look well upon this

[a] The fourth lord omitted in this enumeration was lord Erskine.

matter, and haste me your mind with all diligence; and if it happen that I be put from the king, as they have ordered in the parliament to do, what can my biding here do to the king my son nor to myself? For from that time I be put from the king my son there will none set by me here; and therefore, my lord, I pray you let me come (to) that realm, and devise the best way for me and the king my son, as my trust is in you. And be not blinded no more with the duke's falsehood, and make no truce nor abstinence while this be remedied, for no sending without that I send you a token. And haste me your counsel, I pray you, and cause the prioress of Coldstream to send surely the answer to me of this bill, and send her word that you will do for her, and keep her from trouble, so that she will be true to me. For there is none that may do it so well and surely as she may, to convey letters betwixt; and if she fails to do it, that you will cause her place to be burnt. And this I pray you not fail to do, and God keep you, and send you grace to help the king my son out of his enemies' hands, which he will daily be in now with these persons that they put to him. For the lord Fleming, for evil will that he had to his wife, caused to poison three sisters, a one of them was his wife; and this is known of t in all Scotland. And if this be good to put to king my son, God knoweth. And another t know perfectly, that he would have my son for the governor and the earl of Murray such

for the governor hath his sister now to his paramour. All this is of truth that I write to you; and therefore I pray you, my lord, see the best remedy, as my trust is in you.

Written in all haste possible, this St. Catherine's even,[a] in Stirling.

Also the captain of artillery is one about the king.

Yours,

MARGARET R.

To my lord of Surrey.

LETTER CXI.

Queen Margaret to the Duke of Albany. A.D. 1523.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 159. *Original.*]

*** It is curious, even in the history of state diplomacy, to note the coolness with which queen Margaret, after her strenuous opposition to the duke of Albany, after the abuse she had heaped upon him in her letters to England, and the pains she had taken to frustrate his measures, could assure him of her fidelity to the French party, and that he could never have a truer friend than herself!

My lord and cousin,

I recommend me humbly to you. I have received your letter by Mons. Gonzolles, with one letter of the lords, the which has shewn me the ordinance that you and they have made, and how they have prayed and ordered me that I shall not

[a] November 24th.

abide with the king my son, but to come awhiles and see him. My lord, I think it right strange that this is your will, seeing the good and true part that I have kept to the king my son, and to you, and to this realm, and the displeasure that I have had of the king my brother (and) my friends for your part. Thinking firmly to have been assured of your good will toward me, as your letters does show by your fair words, the which that I have hope that such a prince as you will not forget, nor cause me to *tine* (lose) my good will for your own honour, seeing that so many princes know how I have done for you, and hath never failed to the king my son nor you. Wherefore, if this be your pleasure, let me wit it, and I shall do the best I may for myself while that I may find a better time. But I shall be continually in great fear of the king my son's person, as I shall *gar* (cause) it be well known. And you shall know, my lord and cousin, hereafter, that it is and shall be in my power to do good and honour to you and this realm, if I were well entreated; and one truer than me you shall never find, and have so evil a reward as I. I think also that for the good part that I have kept to the French king, that I should not be thus entreated; as I will ask, if it be his pleasur For, my lord, you said to me that he command you to do for me, and to treat me well, which h been to his honour and yours. It is force that speak for myself, when I am put from the thi that I love best in the world; as God know

whom give you better counsel, for the good of the king and your own honour.

Written 26th day of November.

MARGARET R.

LETTER CXII.

Queen Margaret to the Earl of Surrey. A.D. 1523.

[ROYAL LETTERS, VOL. B. II. 10, FOL. 213, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Holograph.*]

*** On the 28th of November, 1523, the lords of the articles wrote to queen Margaret, assuring her of the fidelity of the persons they had placed about the king, promising to exert themselves still farther in reference to her dower, and announcing that in eight days they, along with the governor, would come over to Stirling to see her there and bring matters to a conclusion. The particulars of their interview are detailed in the present letter, which, long as it is, is entirely in the handwriting of the queen. In it she shews even more than her wonted energy, and much tact too, in her attempts to induce her brother to greater liberality, by boasting the offers of pension made her by the French king. The letter closes abruptly, having neither signature nor superscription.

My lord of Surrey,

I commend me heartily to you, and wit you that I have received your writing from master John Cantley my servant, and hath understood his credence; and at his coming I was not into Stirling, but when I knew of his coming I passed away to Stirling. And as he hath shewn me the king's grace my brother's mind and yours, I shall fulfil the best I can, and shall not fail on my part. Also I will advertise you of such things as hath been

done at this time. As to the first point, I sent you the letter that the lords sent to me, with a letter of the governor's, that you might understand their minds toward me; and now I send you with this writing my answers again that I sent to them, when master John Cantley was with you. Secondly, my lord, the governor came here to Stirling, and the lords with him, the 9th day of December, and came that same day to the king my son, and I was there present; and after he had spoken to the king he came to me, and excused him to me, saying, that I was displeased at him; and I answered I had no other cause, as farther I would shew before him and the lords. Then the next day after, he and the lords came to the council, and I was present, and said to them that I understood the ordinance and rule that they had made, that I should not remain with the king my son, and that they have put the earl of Murray, the earl of Cassilis, and the lord Fleming, and the lord Borthwick to be about the king my son's person, which I thought not needful, seeing that his person hath been surely kept hitherto with good, true, wise lords, and that they have [illegible] failed in nothing; and as to my part, I had [illegible] made no cause of suspicion to be put from the my son: wherefore I had great marvel they [illegible] do that to me, but I perceived well that it was for hurt to the king my son: wherefore I have [illegible] in great suspicion that should be about his [illegible] seeing that they will not take the charge upon [illegible]

I being with the king my son; wherefore I disassented to their innovations, and if any thing happened it should lie to their charge. And I discharged me with many other sharp words that were too long to write. And the governor took an instrument after mine, and said that if that the lords would not fulfil it that they had done, that they failed, and that he laid the charge upon them if any inconvenience came thereafter. And thus we departed that night. The next day the governor came himself to the king my son, and desired him that he might speak with him and me: and then he shewed to the king and me the order that was devised by the lords and him, touching such persons as should be about him, and prayed him and me to be contented therewith. The king said, it that was for his good he would be contented with; and I answered that I had shewn my mind before him and the lords, and therefore I could say no more then. I was warned that the governor had sent to fetch eight hundred of his Frenchmen, which should have passed to the west sea, and that he was in purpose to take the king to another place, and to have put me from him. Wherefore, to eschew more evil appearing, I thought for that time I would not contrary them as to the lords that should be about him; but I said before the lords then, that it that was for the good of the king my son's person I would be contented with, and that I should be a good Scotswoman. And then I departed, and I took

an instrument before witness that I revoked any thing that I did at this time, for it was to eschew a greater inconvenience that was appearing in the time toward the king my son's person. After this, the governor desired at the lords, I not being present, that they would give him licence to pass his way into France, not speaking of his returning again. And he had made him ready and his ships to pass; but the lords, both spiritual and temporal, would not condescend to it for nothing that could be done; but said that he should not pass, for an he did they would discharge their bonds to him, and the authority that he hath: and if he would abide with them, they would give him the profits of all the benefices with their own, and the temporal lords would abide continually with him, and spend their goods with him in his service, and by this they would find the governor as much to spend as I should have. Not the less he would not be content with this, but he would pass his way. And upon this they sat three days, and yet the lords would not consent to h passing away; and now he will abide while Ca mas, and will hold his Christmas into Edinb And the cause of this is about the benefices, governor hath named them to sundry pers he hath not made them no surety, but holdet in his hands: wherefore they think, an he away, that he will dispose them otherwise a pleasure, and that hath caused them to do this heir profit, and not regarded to the weal of

king my son nor his realm. And part of their benefices spiritual men hath, another part to temporal lords for their friends, as the earl of Arran, the earl of Argyle, which I trusted should not have come to the governor, but to have bidden forth at this time, which made me to be the *starker* (stronger) at my opinion: but I had not one person that took my part, nor that would displease the governor for the weal of the king my son. Therefore, my lord, I pray you consider this well, and shew it to the king's grace my brother, that there may be remedy seen for the same, seeing that I advertise you of all things. And as to my part, touching the biding with the king my son, I shall not fail as long as I may bide, and that I may get any thing to hold my expenses with. But the lords sheweth well by their doings to me, that they would that I were from my son the king: for one way they have ordained me, as you may see by their writings that I sent to you, and another cause they will not answer me of living; in so far as I desired them to see a way for me how I should be answered of my living conforming to their own bonds, or else that [they] would see some other good way for me, that I might live to my honour, or else that they would give me leave to coin gold or silver to make my expenses. As to the answering of my conjoint feoffment, they say that they cannot help me for the war that the king's grace my brother makes on this realm; and as to any other help, they know not

where it may be gotten; and as to let me strike any money, either gold or silver, it will do great hurt: and thus they will not consent to nothing how that I may live with my son. Therefore, if the king's grace my brother will that I abide with the king my son, he must help me with part to sustain me, as his grace hath done in a part, whereof I thank his grace right humbly; and I shall do as he commandeth me as long as [I] may, and shall rule me as soberly as I can, with part of servants as I may bear, that there shall be no fault in it that I may do: and therefore my special trust is that his grace will not fail me, for the good of the king my son and me. Wherefore I pray you heartily, my lord, to cause me to be advertised of the king's grace my brother's pleasure touching these matters; for I promise you, my lord, on my honour, that I have written nothing in this letter but that hath been done and said at this time, or else let me never have credence, which I would think right heavy. Also, my lord, when that I came before the governor and the lords, when they sat at the parliament, I asked at them wherefore I was holden suspect to be with the king my son: and they said, it was the lords that was ordained to be about his person that said that I was your sister, and that peradventure I would take him into England, thinking that I did for his weal; and that they[a]

[a] *That* in original.

knew perfectly that the king my son would do more for me than for any other, wherefore they would take no charge on them: and the governor himself, with the lords, said this same language to me. And I answered to them that my deeds had shewn otherwise, wherefore that was but of malice and evil will, as I should cause it to be proved with as good as any there. And this I get for the king's grace my brother's sake; wherefore his grace should help me and defend me, and let them wit that his grace knoweth this, but not by my rehearse, and that he is not contented that such things should be laid to my charge for his sake; and send to me plainly, and ask if they have done thus to me, and that he marvels that I will not advertise his grace of these doings; saying that he will defend me, and that he will not let me be wronged. And, this being done, it will cause the governor to pass away for fear, and cause the lords to fall from him and his purposes for very fear. For I ensure you that the duke is as afraid for England as can be possible; and another thing, he dare never give trust to Scotsmen to fight against England, for he dreadeth that they will betray him. Therefore, my lord, I pray you consider all this well, and help to labour a good way for the weal and surety of the king my son and me, as you have shewn largely for your part to us, the which I pray God that I may acquit and do you pleasure for the same: for, next the king's grace my brother, I am most beholden to you

of any. And I thank you heartily, my lord, of the good entreating that you made of master John Cantley, and that you took so kindly with him for my sake; wherefore he is bound to do you service, and will do. Also, my lord, I have received two hundred angel nobles from master John Cantley, that the king's grace my brother sent me; whereof I thank his grace humbly: for an it be not his help, I am constrained to leave this realm for fault of my honest sustentation. But the duke and the French ambassador that is here hath proffered me, in the French king's name, five thousand crowns of the weight in pension, so that I will help to keep the band betwixt France and this realm; which I have refused, because I will do nothing contrary the king's grace my brother's pleasure, as he shall find. Praying you, my lord, to haste me answer of these my writings, and that they be secretly kept, for they may do me great hurt, as my trust is in you. And if you pass up to the court, my lord, I pray you haste me answer, and forget not me and the king my son; and if any other thing occurs in haste, I shall send it to sir William Bulmer to send to you, for I will send to none other, for I know how I have been done to in times past: as God knoweth.

LETTER CXIII.

Margaret Countess of Salisbury to the King and Council.

[MISCELLANEOUS EXCHEQUER DOCUMENTS, SECOND SERIES, NO. 539, ROLLS-HOUSE. *Corrected Draught.*]

*** The mournful fate of Margaret countess of Salisbury, the last surviving child and heir of George duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV., has excited for her a powerful interest. The leading events of her life are well known. Left a young widow, she obtained, by a grant from Henry VIII., the style and title of countess of Salisbury, as heiress of Richard earl of Salisbury, her maternal grandfather. Her royal descent, great wealth, and intense energy of character, gave her a prominent position at court. She was also a patroness of learning. At her request, Gentian Hevet undertook his translation of Erasmus' Latin treatise, "De Contemptu Mundi," which was published in 1533. Though pressed, and even persecuted, to enter again into the marriage state with sir William Compton, she steadily refused, although her refusal was attended with considerable trouble to herself from the resentment of her rejected suitor.[a] The former of the two letters, now laid before the reader, shews the energy with which the countess busied herself in the management of

[a] Amongst the Miscellaneous Correspondence, in the State Paper Office, first series, vol. vi. fol. 106, is a curious anonymous letter, seemingly from a legal adviser of the countess of Salisbury, about a suit between the king and her for five thousand marks yearly revenue from some of her manors. On her restoration to the estates of Salisbury, she had presented one year's rent of these manors, amounting to the sum of five thousand marks, to the king, to aid in his wars; but on her rejection of sir William Compton, he, in revenge, insinuated to the king that the manors belonged of right to the dukedom of Somerset, and not to the earldom of Salisbury, and that, therefore, he had a right to claim the five thousand marks yearly. The issue of the contest is not recorded.

her extensive estates.[a] The latter refers to her official situation as governess to the princess Mary.

To the king's majesty and to his most honourable council.

In her most humble wise sheweth and complaineth unto your highness your true and faithful subject, Margaret countess of Salisbury, that whereas she was peaceably seised by true title of descent of and in 200 acres of wood, with the appurtenances, in Shirley within your county of Hereford, in her demesne as of fee, unto the 16th day of February last past; that one Henry Frowick, esquire, (and) John Basset, gentleman, with divers other riotous and ill-disposed persons of the servants and retinue of the said Henry and Basset, to the number of twenty persons, and men to your said subject unknown, in form of war arrayed, that is to say, with swords, bucklers, bills, bows and arrows, into the said wood riotously entered, and then and there with the said riotous persons cut and felled down as much of the wood of your said subject as amounted

[a] Several legal and other documents of the countess are scattered amongst the miscellaneous records of the treasury of the Exchequer. No. 1161 of the second series of the miscellaneous Exchequer documents is a book of her accounts during the thirtieth year of Henry VIII. No. 1542 is an account of a lawsuit between her and one Bowman and others relative to some possessions in Hertfordshire. A long list of her lands is given in Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 292; and an indenture, relating to some manors, in Chapter-house Records, vol. A. IV. 5, fol. 55, Rolls-house.

(to) about the value of 100*l.*, contrary to your peace and law; and ever since, the said riotous persons daily continue in their said unlawful demeanour in the said wood, so that they will not suffer the servants of your said subject to come into the said wood, unless that your said subject will commit like riot, which she intendeth not so to offend your highness nor your laws. In consideration whereof, please it your highness of your most abundant grace to grant several writs of subpœna, to be directed unto the said Henry and John Basset, commanding them by the same to appear before your said highness and your said most honourable council, at his palace of Westminster, and there to bring with them all such persons as were privy to the said riot at a certain day, upon a certain pain by your said highness to be limited, there to answer unto the premises; and thereupon to order both a sharp punishment, so that the same may be an example to like offenders to eschew to commit like offences hereafter. And your said subject shall daily pray to God for the preservation of your most royal estate long to endure.

LETTER CXIV.

Margaret Countess of Salisbury to Lady Rede.

[COTTON. MS. VESPASIAN, F. XIII. ART. 116, FOL. 103. *Original.*]

Madam,

I recommend me unto you, doing you to understand that I have received your letters by your servant concerning the marriage of your daughter, by the which I do perceive that the gentlewoman, being accompanied with your said daughter unto your house, hath informed you that it was my mind for her to certify you that the comptroller of the princess's household doth bear his singular favour to your said daughter. Truly she misused herself in giving you any such knowledge on my behalf, for I assure you that I did give unto her no commandment so to do; for at that time I had heard no communication touching that matter. Howbeit, since our departing from Hartlebury, the said comptroller hath moved and communed with me therein, of the which I have certified your daughter; but I can perceive nothing in her whereby any effect should be had or taken in that matter. Wherefore I pray you to be a good and natural mother unto her, and I doubt not but she will always use herself to you as a natural child ought to do to her mother; and would advise you to look well upon the matter which I sent you word of beforetime, that it may

be brought to a good end, for in my mind it would be a very meet bargain if it be well finished and come to pass. And thus I pray God it may be accomplished to both your comforts.

From Worcester, the 20th day of August.

MARGARET SALISBURY.

To dame Anne Rede be these letters delivered.

LETTER CXV.

Anne Lady Rede to Mr. Henry Golde.

[MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS, FIRST SERIES, VOL. II. NO. 101, STATE PAPER OFFICE. *Original.*]

*** The present letter seems, from internal evidence, to have been written about the same time as the previous letter directed to dame Anne Rede by the countess of Salisbury. That the writer was the wife of a knight is evident from the fact, that one of her letters in the same volume from which the present is extracted is endorsed, "My *lady* Rede."[a] "My lord's grace," referred to in the letter, must be the duke of Norfolk. There were only three persons in the court of Henry VIII. to whom the title of *grace* could be given—Norfolk, Suffolk, and Wolsey. The reference cannot be to Wolsey, because "my lady's grace" is also named; nor yet to the duke of Suffolk, since he was then the husband of Mary queen-dowager of France, who always retained her regal title. Henry Golde was chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury.

Master Henry,

I recommend me heartily to you: in like wise thanking you for your loving tokens to me and my

[a] Fol. 100. This letter is on law business. There is another from her at fol. 99, requesting the aid of Golde to make up her accounts, &c.

daughter. And I have sent unto you the cloth again, for my servants are purposed to have of a higher price, and to lay thereto money of their own purse and to buy it theirself. And, sir, the true name of the person that was, is John Ege. And where you are purposed to ride into Buckinghamshire about my business, you shall do me a great pleasure so to do, and to bring with you home my rents, and to commune and speak with such persons as you think to be, or may be made, my friends in my cause. And my lord's counsel is, that there be no examination made of the witness that were at the possession taking, except my lady's counsel do think it very necessary. If so, that then master T. R(ede), my brother, meddle with the examination and not you, for causes: and that you, in none of my business, speak much of my lord's grace or in his name. And according to your counsel I have sent unto you a letter from sir Giles Bryvel.

Your tippet, I trust, shall be made after your desire. Of all such matters touching your brother I have made answer to himself; therefore, &c. As touching your Cambridge matter, I shall move my lord's grace at time convenient; the which you shall know at your return home. And where you write unto me that you fear your letters to be tedious to me because they be so long; sir, they are to me nothing tedious or gr[ievous], but very acceptable and pleasant, specially considering your kind diligence and laborious pains in writing, and other

ways. And as for little Whyghed, let him alone, for I am not purposed to bring him yet out of that parts. And, sir, it is so that the matter betwixt sir Giles Bryvel and my daughter is driven almost unto conclusion, and my lord's grace hath put your brother in the letter of attorney for the possession taking of my daughter's enjointure, and to be there where the lands lieth, in the Easter week; which, if he may thus do, I pray you to know his mind. If your brother be otherwise let, cause Hugh Morgen, when you are in Buckinghamshire, to be with me here on Thursday[a] at the farthest in the Easter week. Thus fare you well. At Knole, 8th of April.

By me,

ANNE REDE.

To *his*[b] loving and trusty friend, Mr. Henry Gold.

LETTER CXVI.

Mary Zouch to Sir John Arundel.

[COTTON. MS. VESPASIAN, F. XIII. ART. 158, FOL. 152. *Holograph.*]

*** The writer of this pitiful letter was the daughter of John ninth baron Le Zouch. His first wife was Dorothy, daughter of sir William Capel, knight, at one time lord-mayor of London. His second, the stepmother so bitterly complained of, was Susan, daughter and heiress of William Welby of Halsted, Lincolnshire, who survived him. The

[a] Or Tuesday? *Tewersday* in MS.

[b] So in original.

letter is of uncertain date, but must have been written before 1529, the period of Wolsey's disgrace. Sir John Arundel of Lanherne was the cousin of lady Zouch, Mary's mother, his father having married Mary Capel, her sister.

JESUS.

Right worshipful cousin Arundel,

In my most lowly manner I recommend me unto you, being very glad to hear of your good health and prosperity. Cousin, the cause of my writing to you at this time is this, that I beseech you for the love of God and in the way of charity to have pity of us, your poor kinswomen, the which liveth in the greatest thraldom of the world, and ever has done since the death of my good lady and mother, on whose soul God take pity. Wherefore, my good cousin, I pray you to be so good to us to sue to my lord cardinal for us that it will please his grace to speak to the king and to the queen, that we may do her grace service, or my lady princess; and we shall pray for his grace the term of our lives, by the grace of God. Cousin, if you did know how we were dealt withal, forsooth you would marvel, for we see nothing that should be to our comfort or preferment in any cause, but as we were foundlings that had neither father nor friend to trust to; and all this causes my lady my mother-in-law, the which never loved none of us all, though we did never so much to please her, and causes my lord my father to be worse to us than he would be, and thus we are brought in so great sorrow that we are weary of our lives, for

row was the death of my good lady and mother, and so it will be of us, her poor children, if God help us not, and you, that all my trust is on. Wherefore now, good cousin, I pray you for the pity that Almighty God had of his blessed mother when he hung on the cross, that you will now help us, and we shall pray for you ever while our lives last; as God knoweth, who have you in his merciful keeping.

Written at Notwell, the 8th day of October, by the hand of your poor unfortunate cousin,

MARY ZOUCH.

To the right worshipful and my singular good cousin Arundel this be delivered.

LETTER CXVII.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to Lord Dacres.

A.D. 1524.

[RAWLINSON LETTERS, VOL. LXV, ART. XIII. BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.]

*** In the spring of 1524 the duke of Albany renewed his attempts to tamper with the queen, and to induce her to join the French faction. Margaret, in a letter dated April 1st addressed to Surrey, who had just obtained a dismissal from his harassing office of warden of the marches, tells him what good offers the governor had made her, but, of course, professes to have rejected them all for the sake of maintaining inviolate her fidelity to England. The postscript of the letter, which is written by herself, is as follows:— "My lord, you shall understand that I have been right sick at the making of this writing, wherefore I could not write it all with mine own (hand), but I pray you that you take not the less regard (thereto)

but that you cause me to have answer of my said writing that I have sent to you, as my trust is in you; or else I will not trow that the king's grace is content with me, and that you have forgotten me. I think right long till you come to these borders again, for I will neither write nor send to none other while I get you."[a] The lord Dacres, Surrey's successor, treated the queen with but little courtesy, for, pleading pressing orders, he refused to allow her messengers to pass up to London,[b] of which both she and Albany loudly complained,[c] and not without cause; for in the packet intercepted by Dacres was found a French bond, drawn up between the queen and governor, which of course she little desired should fall into the hands of her brother. The surprise which this document excited in England is detailed in the following letter from Wolsey to lord Dacres, dated April 24th:—"I received with your said letters a packet folded, and sealed with the queen of Scots' seal, wherein was a letter from her to my lord of Surrey, and a writing, after the form of a copy of an instrument in French, of certain conventions devised between her and the duke of Albany. In her said letter she writeth many things sounding to the constant mind she hath to follow the king's advice and counsel in all her proceedings, affirming that she hath not seen the duke of Albany since his arrival in Scotland, nor will do by her will as long as he shall remain there; and that she is about her son the young king, who will do nothing but with her advice and counsel; with many other demonstrations, seeming to tend unto her firm and constant mind against the said duke of Albany. Nevertheless the copy of the said instrument soundeth totally to the contrary, as by the tenor thereof, which I send you here inclosed, you shall now perceive; of which instrument, copy, or conventions, no manner mention is made in any letters, sent either from the said queen or duke to the king's highness, me, the earl of Surrey, or other person. Wherefore, inasmuch as it was folded in the said paper, without direction to any person, and sealed semblably with a letter of a contrary tenor, which seals evidently appeareth to have been broken up, and the paper closed again, it is to be thought that there is some circumvention or craft used by the duke of Albany or some other in that matter. The king's pleasure therefore is, that you by your wisdom shall essay to know, if it may be, what this matter meaneth, and whether there be any

[a] Cotton. MS. Caligula, B. I. fol. 209 b.

[b] Lord Dacres to queen Margaret, April 11th, 1524. Ibid. B. III. fol. 141.

[c] Albany to Dacres, 9th April, 1524. Ibid. fol. 143.

such conventions passed between the queen of Scots and the duke of Albany or not; or how the said copy, whereof no mention was made in any letters, should come or be put into the paper, not having any direction, with the letter of the said queen to my lord of Surrey.[a]

Margaret's apologies for her conduct are very clumsy, pretending that she had never really made the bond which, signed and sealed, was in the hands of the English council; but that she had sent it up to her brother that he might know what the governor desired from her. The two following letters are copied from a transcript made from the original MS. by Hearne, the celebrated antiquarian. This MS., containing a number of letters on Scottish affairs about this period, is now in the possession of Miss Richardson Curzon of Craven, Yorkshire. Some of the letters, including these two, are printed at the end of Hearne's edition of Otterbourne and Whethamstead's chronicles.

My lord Dacres,

I commend me unto you, and wit you that I have received your letter written the fourth day of May, and understand the same. First, as to my writing that I sent to the king's grace my brother for the peace; in that matter I have written and laboured divers times, suppose it came not to effect; and yet I would be right glad to labour in that matter, so that my labour might come to pass. And where you write that in my packet that I sent with Robin Percy there was a paper sealed with my seal, written after the copy of an instrument in French, devised and passed betwixt me and the governor, and a letter sent to my lord of Surrey, in contrary sort; of the which the king's grace my brother and my lord cardinal marvelled, and took the same in as good part as your writing bears: as to that, I sent the

[a] Hearne's Whethamstead, App. p. 598.

writing to the king's grace my brother, to the effect that he might know that the governor desired such a bond of me. The which I refused to do, nor will not do, whatever may come to me; howbeit I have great occasion, for I have written often since the departing of the earl of Surrey, and never gotten answer. And great business and labour has been betwixt the governor and you, to what effect I know not, whereof I marvel: for I think, an if any way should be made betwixt these two realms, I think I should have been advertised, and have had my part therein. And where you say that I was so honourably married to be queen of this realm, and provided so substantially for my sufficient living, to be paid to me in the realm, or in any other at my pleasure, affirmed by the three estates of this realm as they are bound thereto; as to that point, my marriage was honourable, and for my substance or living I have never been answered, as you know, and as I have oftentimes written to the king's grace my brother since the decease of the king my husband, which were honour to his grace to hold me in my right, and cause me to be answered; considering that I have no friends here, except his grace and the king my son, which is yet young: but I trust to God within short time he will not let me be wronged in this realm; wherefore I will take patience for a time. Suppose I be now overlooked, I trust hereafter to be *steadable* (useful) to the king's grace my brothe and my friends, for I trust the king my son sh

be right kind. And where you write that I have overseen myself in making of the foresaid bond, you shall understand that I have made no such bond, nor intend to do any thing which may turn me or my friends to dishonour, nor hurt to the king my son, but shall remain with him how soberly that I may put off my time, without I be compelled otherwise for necessity and want of my living. Howbeit, an if I should follow other men's minds, I might have aid and support, the which I shall be loath to do; and for no favour of any Frenchman, as your writing proposes, I will not do nothing that may be reproach to me. And if any were intreated as I am, they would do otherwise than I have done, seeing that the king's grace my brother taketh no regard to me, nor to no writing that I send; but that is by solicitation of my *unfriends* (enemies). And where that I have written often and divers times to his grace in such matters, concerning the weal of both the realms, and desired to understand his mind in the same, yet I could never get answer of the same. Wherefore, my lord Dacres, I pray you shew his grace that I think it right heavy and unkindly, considering I have not failed on my part, nor think not to do, praying you to cause me to understand the king's grace my brother's mind; and God keep you.

Written at Stirling, the 19th day of May.

Your friend,

MARGARET R.

LETTER CXVIII.

Queen Margaret to Lord Dacres. A.D. 1524.

[RAWLINSON LETTERS, VOL. LXV. ART. XIV. BODLEIAN LIBRARY.]

My lord Dacres,

I commend me to you, and wit you that I have received your writing, dated the 27th day of May, which is right sharp touching me; whereof I have great marvel, considering that I did write my mind plainly to you, and answer to such things as you did write to me. Nevertheless I perceive that you give my writing no credence, and therefore I know not wherefore I should write to you; and in so far as you contradict my said writing in saying that I have made the bond that I denied, and that it is known both in England and Scotland,—my lord, as to that you say no true, and that the deed will prove; nor I have not done nothing contrary to my honour nor the weal of the king my son, nor will not do for none. And whereas you say that if I labour not for peace it is likely to be great trouble, God knows my part in that matter, and if I laboured not continually at the king's grace hard —suppose I was not heard, nor yet no answer made to me. And now of late I sent my servant to that effect, and with my plain mind, and he could not get passage; wherefore my labouring cannot come to effect, through the evil and false report of my unfriends, which may never be so steadable to his grace

as I. And also, my lord, you say in your writing that I have gotten the ward and marriage of the earl of Huntley, for the bond that you say I have made, with other profits and gifts, which you trust will not do me great profit.

My lord, I have marvel that you write to me in such a manner, with such words as you do, considering that I know better what I have done than you can do by false report: wherefore you should be better advised before you put any to me other than verity. For I trust my lord of Surrey, if he had been where you are, would not have written on this manner to me; but I cannot get your kindness for nothing that I can do: suppose I be well known indeed that I will not nor have not done, for no profit, otherwise than I should do, both for my honour and for the weal of the king my son; and it that I have gotten hath not been for no such thing as you say in your writing, nor to much profit, as you speak of. I will say no more until that I understand the king's grace my brother's mind, which I trust is better to me than yours is, or else I would think that my good part was evil rewarded, and I would see the best remedy I might for myself. For I must live as long as God pleases, and so the best way I may for to live to my honour, and not live like a poor woman, as I have done this long time, without help or favour, as it may well be seen. For when it was ordained that I should have been put from the king my son by the lords, I did advertise the king's

grace my brother, and sent him the lords' writing thereupon, and desired to know his grace's mind what he would that I did, and if his grace would make me any help I should withstand the duke and the lords to the uttermost; and since the departing of the earl of Surrey from the borders I got no answer, and therefore I might have had great trouble and hurt, and the king my son in danger, and found no help nor favour to us; the which I think right unkindly, but trust it comes not of the king's grace my brother's mind, but of my unfriends' soliciting. But I trust his grace shall find that which in short time I may do his grace stead; and as to any thing that I do I shall answer both to God and to the world, and I shall keep as good a part to the king's grace my brother as any other shall; and, do you as well for your part as I do, you will deserve the less reproof and displeasure of his grace. And therefore, my lord, reprove not me in the thing that is not truth, for I will answer for myself. And also, you say that the great *abusions* (deceptions) that the lords and I have with the duke's ways. As to their part I will not answer for them, for the deed may shew, but to mine own part I will not be abused with it; for I look not that way, nor will not do nothing that may be hurt to the king my son, nor his realm: but if the king's grace be minded to do for the king my son, as I trust it be, he may shew it best in making a good peace betwixt these two realms; and upon that his grace to send his good

mind to the lords here, and if they refuse it, then his grace hath the more cause to do displeasure here: and otherwise methinks his grace should not do no evil to the king my son, nor his realm; as God knoweth, whom keep you.

Written the last day of May.[a]

MARGARET R.

LETTER CXIX.

Queen Margaret to King Henry VIII. A.D. 1524.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 211 b. *Holograph.*]

*** The proceedings of the governor Albany, and in particular the close restraint in which he held the young king, began to diminish his popularity. The fickle Scottish lords again wavered in their fidelity, which the duke having perceived, had asked their permission to retire into France. This had been readily granted, and with some difficulty he extorted from them a promise not to make peace with England till his return; which promise they gave, rather to facilitate his departure than with any intention of keeping it.[b] Scarcely was the powerful influence of his personal presence withdrawn, than the queen, in spite of her recent engagements with him, resolved, in compliance with the

[a] Several letters of queen Margaret's, addressed to the duke of Albany and the French government, about this period, are among the Archives du Royaume, Hôtel Soubise; but their publication here is waived, in deference to the wishes of M. Alexandre Teulet, who is about to print them in a forthcoming volume of Scottish correspondence of the 16th century, which he is editing for the Bannatyne Club.

[b] Letter from William Bulmer to Wolsey. Wolsey Correspondence, vol. i. art. 149, State Paper Office.

wishes of her brother, to make a new attempt to seize the government and displace the guardians of the young king appointed by Albany. It was essential to the schemes of Henry VIII. that Scotland should be freed from the domination of French influence, and, before he durst trust his sister, he entered into secret negotiations with the young king himself, whose bold and martial spirit was now rapidly developing itself in a manner beyond his years. But such was Margaret's fickleness, that though, on the 24th of May, friar Jedworth, the agent of Henry VIII. in Scotland, pronounced that it would be positively unsafe to let her have any share in the schemes for her son's liberation, for "she and the duke were all one,"[a] yet on the 26th of the following month she was actively engaged in forwarding those very schemes—travelling to Galloway, on pretence of pilgrimage, to meet some lords there secretly, and mature her plans.[b] The eagerness of the young king was so great, that it was with some difficulty that he was restrained till the arrangements were thoroughly completed.[c] The queen's earnestness on the subject is best expressed by herself. Their scheme proved successful within a few weeks after the date of the present letter.[d] The remonstrances of the queen against the return of the earl of Angus into Scotland were occasioned by that nobleman having stolen away from France to England, where he was endeavouring, by the most vehement protestations of fidelity to the English cause, to induce Henry VIII. to procure his return to Scotland. The apologies made by Margaret for her "evil hand" will not be considered superfluous by any on whom may have devolved the task of deciphering her hurried and uncouth characters, especially when, as in the present instance, she wrote under the influence of strong mental emotion.

Dearest brother the king,

In my most humblest wise I can I recommend

[a] Bulmer to Wolsey. Wolsey Correspondence, vol. i. art. 150.

[b] The same to the same. Ibid. art. 146.

[c] Lord Dacres to Wolsey, 12th June, 1524. Ibid. vol. viii. part i. art. 20.

[d] The letter of James V. to Henry VIII. announcing the fact of his liberation by the aid of his mother, dated August 5th, 1524, is in Scotland Royal Letters, vol. i. art. 3, State Paper Office.

me to your grace; and please you to wit, that I have received your grace's writing the 7th day of July, with a writing of my lord cardinal, which I understand at length. And as to your grace's writing, I thank you humbly of your kind and loving writing, and that now your grace doth consider my good mind, which hath been ever on my part, suppose that my unfriends hath given your grace other ways to understand, for evil of the king my son and me. Also, dearest brother the king, I beseech your grace to remember well upon my last writings sent to your grace, and to make not long delay in helping of the king my son, to put him to freedom and out of danger of his enemies; for now is the time. For your grace shall understand that there is many lords well-minded to the same, and will be better, so that they may have your assistance and help, whereof your grace puts me in good belief, saying that the duke of Norfolk shall be here right shortly with your mind and pleasure; whom-to you bid me give credence. Wherefore I beseech your grace to do substantially and kindly, so that this realm may have cause to do for you, and leave other ways. And, do your grace the contrary, the king my son will be the longer from his liberty, and his person in danger. And as to my part, your grace shall find no fault; but I am a woman, and may do little, but friends.

Also, dearest brother, I have seen your writing touching my lord of Angus, which, as your grace

tes, is in your said realm, and that you purpose send him shortly here, and that you find him ht wise and hath ruled him well, and that he h desired that there may be a peace laboured wixt these two realms, and that he will do his our and diligence to the same with his help, with ny other good words of him; and praying me to 'e him in my favour, and that he is well-minded me, and beareth me great love and favour. arest brother, as to my lord of Angus and me, ere your grace desireth me to take him in my our; as to that, he hath not shewn, since his arting out of Scotland, that he desired my good l and favour, neither by writing nor word, but v that he hath desired your grace to write to me, owing well that there is none that I will do so ch for as your grace; but I trust, dearest brother king, that your grace will not desire me to do hing that may be hurt to me your sister, nor t may be occasion to hold me from the king my , both for his weal and mine. And now your ice understandeth in what state I stand in, and w the king my son is and will be ruled by me, l that I have laboured and broken many lords m the ways of the duke of Albany to his way, t he may be put out of danger, and that he and lords may rule this realm with the help and istance of your grace, wherein is all my trust. herefore, seeing all matters standing on this sort

I would not your grace gave any occasion in the contrary to put it aback, but rather to forward it. And as to my lord of Angus coming here, it is not unknown to your grace, that there is great breach and disfavour betwixt him and great lords of this realm, which will not be contented with him, nor with me, if I go his way, but all utterly be contrary me, and do that they can to have me from the king my son, and will put them from the good purpose they are in now; which will be great danger to the king my son's person an this time be overlooked. Wherefore I beseech your grace humbly to consider my part in this behalf, and bid me not now do the thing that may destroy the king my son and me, seeing that I shew your grace plainly as it is. And when your grace hath helped to bring the king my son out of danger, and that he and his lords may rule this realm, and that there may be good peace betwixt your said realm and this, then your grace shall find me ready to do any thing that may be pleasure to your grace. And while that I see this come to a good end I can say no more, for your grace must pardon me to look for the weal and surety of the king my son afore the pleasure of my lord of Angus; for when I am put from the king my son, he will not be the more set by, and I shall not desire to bide in Scotland when I am out of the company of the king my son.

Thus, dearest brother the king, I beseech your

grace to look well upon these matters, and now, since they may be brought to a good end, let it not be undone for your grace's part, for I assure you that the king my son hath great hope in your grace and in your help, and especially since he saw your grace's writing to him, and saith on his part he shall not fail to take upon him as your grace would that he do, you doing to him for your part, and as your writing beareth to him; and for my part I assure your grace that I may and will cause him to do your counsel afore any other, your grace doing for the weal of him and his realm, as my trust is you will. And thus it is in your grace's hand, and I refer it to the coming of my lord of Norfolk, as your grace hath bidden me do; and therefore I can say no more. But touching a point that is in your grace's said writing, saying that my lord of Angus hath laboured for the peace, and that he will help with his authority; as to that, methinks, dearest brother the king, methinks that he nor no other should be heard in that matter so well as I your sister, nor that you may get so much honour to do for their request as for me. And therefore I beseech your grace that such thing be not in your mind, but that it be I that does it, for the love and favour that you bear to the king my son and me. And if it be through others, I trust I shall not be so thankfully taken here. Pray your grace to pardon me that I write so plainly to you; but I write

nothing but as your grace will find. I beseech your grace to pardon me of my evil hand, for I am something not well disposed, and therefore I have caused my hand to be copied, in adventure if your grace cannot read my evil hand; and God preserve you. Written the 14th day of July.

Dearest brother, please your grace, touching my lord of Angus coming here, I would beseech your grace to be well advised in the same, as I have written of before; and as touching to my part, if he will put hand to my conjunct fee,[a] I will not be contented therewith, for I have but right sober thing to find myself with, and hath shewn your grace that divers times, and got but little remedy. Wherefore now, an I be troubled with the lord of Angus, it is your grace that doth it, and then I will be constrained to seek other help; for I will not let him trouble me in my living, as he hath done in times past.

Your humble sister,

MARGARET.

To the high and right excellent prince, my dearest brother, the King's grace.

[a] *Gonjonffe* in the original, which is evidently very carelessly written.

LETTER CXX.

Anne Countess of Oxford to Cardinal Wolsey. A.D. vers. 1524.

[COTTON. MS. VESPASIAN, F. XIII. ART. 115, FOL. 102. *Holograph.*]

*** Anne countess of Oxford was the daughter of Thomas second duke of Norfolk, by his second wife Agnes Tilney. Her husband, John de Vere, fourteenth earl of Oxford, usually called Little John of Campes, was of diminutive stature, and alike weak in mind and body. The three following letters afford proof of the energy with which his countess endeavoured to supply his mental deficiencies, and to defend him from the encroachments of the executors of his predecessor and from those of his kinsman and heir-presumptive, sir John de Vere, who already began to look upon the broad lands of the childless earl as his own. Her frequent requests to Wolsey, who was chancellor, in reference to the appointment of the officers of her husband's household, was occasioned by an arrangement entered into in February 16th, 1524, between Wolsey, the young earl, and the executors of his father, for his regulation, rendered necessary by the habits of dissipated extravagance into which he had fallen, injurious to his health, his estate, and his domestic comfort.[a] Two copies of this agreement are still in existence.[b] It is entitled, "An order made by the reverend father in God Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of England, by direction from the king, to limit John earl of Oxford in the ordering of his expenses of household and other his affairs in his younger years, as also for his demeanour towards the countess his wife, in the fifteenth year of king Henry VIII."

Wolsey directs that the earl, being unable to maintain a great house, shall dissolve and break up his household, and go with his to reside with her father the duke of Norfolk, at such prices for board as the duke and duchess and the friends of the earl of shall agree upon.

[a] In Wolsey Correspondence, vol. viii. part i. art. 143, a letter from her to Wolsey, thanking him for allowing Mr. H be with her husband, and wishing him to be made his su woods.

[b] Hargrave MSS. No. 249, fol. 226; and No. 227, fol. 4;

For his good counsel, and that of his wife, they are to have the servants underwritten, viz. an auditor, surveyor and receiver, chaplain, six yeomen, three grooms, three lackeys, and a page; two gentlewomen and one chamberer for the countess: all whose names are to be sent in by the earl to Wolsey, and they and any future successors of them are to be subject to his approval, and the earl is never to admit any servant who is not approved by Wolsey.

The servants are not to belong some to the earl and some to the countess, but to serve each indifferently.

The earl is to be moderate in his expenses "for eschewing the decay of his lands," to make no grants or annuities without leave, and not to injure his complexion by unwholesome meats, hot wines, or sitting up too late. He is to be moderate in the exercise of hunting, only to use it when advised by the saddest and discreetest of his servants, not every day.

"In all other the gestures and behaviours of the said earl he shall use himself honourably, prudently, and sadly, forbearing all riotous and wild companies, excessive and superfluous apparel; and namely he shall, as to a nobleman appertaineth, lovingly, familiarly, and kindly entreat and demean himself towards the said countess his wife, as there may be perfect love, concord, and unity engendered, nourished, and continued between them." He is to listen to no slanderous reports against her, but treat her tenderly, as a nobleman should, and in general behave himself discreetly and observe the premises; to which he is bound in a penalty of 3000*l*., and six sureties each in 500 marks, by a tripartite indenture, one part of which remains with Wolsey, another with the executors of the late earl of Oxford, and another with the earl himself.

In my most bounden and humble wise please it your grace to be advertised, that where your grace directed your honourable letter to the executors of the late earl of Oxford, concerning the delivery of the stuff and plate bequested, I ascertain your grace it is delivered since I sent you a letter, with much business ere it came to. Nevertheless they have not delivered the 100 marks, nor yet more than

was bequested; and they say plainly they can do no more than they have done, and they be not contented with Sir Robert Drury that he was so ready in granting your grace the 100 marks they squared with him afore me, and now I find him better than the remnant in divers causes; and I desired them to have their advice in ordering my lord's house, and in other great causes concerning my lord's business, and they said they would not meddle, and what that should mean I have great marvel, for they speak well afore your grace that they would have been glad to give us good counsel, the which should have been to my great comfort if they would do so; and if your grace would be so good unto me that I might have some wise officer for the ordering of my lord's house, I would trust then to have the less need of their counsel and advice, but to live as well as we may of that we have by your gracious goodness. And sorry I am to trouble your great (goodness), if I might well otherwise do, considering your great and high causes otherways, but I am the more bolder considering I have few great friends to trust unto, nor cannot do for me as your grace do. Wherefore I humbly beseech your grace to pardon me that I am so bold to send so often to your grace, for the continuance of us must be maintained by your gracious help; as knows our Lord, who ever preserve your grace.

By your assured humble,

A. Oxford.

To my lord's grace.

LETTER CXXI.

Anne Countess of Oxford to Cardinal Wolsey.
A.D. vers. 1524.

[MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS, FIRST SERIES, VOL. VI. NO. 91, STATE PAPER OFFICE. *Holograph.*]

My lord,

In my most humblest wise I recommend me to your grace, beseeching your grace to continue my singular good lord, as you ever have been. My lord, the cause of my writing to you at this time is that I had knowledge of late, by Mr. Knightley, that your grace minded to send to my lord and me a wise man to be our steward, which if it please your grace to be so gracious to me as to appoint such a man, it should be singular pleasure and comfort to me; for it is not thought meet for me to do that I do, without the help of some other officers than I have. Wherefore, if it will please your grace to appoint such a steward as you think meet for that room, I will be glad to give him such wages as it shall please your grace to command me to pay him; for I had rather have one from your grace than from any other. For I ascertain your grace that I cannot be suffered to say mine advice in no causes, and it is thought by many that I may do much in my lord's causes; and if I should meddle in any of his causes farther than I do, I perceive that

I should never live in rest: therefore I meddle no farther than his household causes. Glad I would be that my lord might have such one of his servants about him that they might be privy to such causes as he hath; and he had need to be substantial man, for Mr. Vere, Mr. Gates, Mr. Norwich, and Colte, they are the great rulers in my lord's causes, and if they would they might do much good: for these are they that my lord doth put his singular trust in. They have not devised for him neither receiver, surveyor, nor auditor, nor yet they have not paid the hundred marks to my lord that they promised to pay before your grace. Wherefore I remit all wholly to your grace, for my part trusting that your grace will not see that I shall bear the reproach to meddle without officers.

I have spoken with my lord of Norfolk of late; by him I did perceive that the king's grace doth lay great wait to have knowledge how that my lord doth use himself. Insomuch that my lord my brother did shew me that the king's grace would that my lord had some wise men about him; and I perceive well, by my lord my brother, that he intendeth to counsel the king's grace to the same at his next meeting with him. But I trust all in your grace; for the ordering of us, your grace have bound me during my life to be at your commandment, and will be to you above all other, as it shall be your pleasure to command me, and as true to you in heart as to myself, and that you should know

if I might speak with your grace what I have heard: but your wisdom can beware:[a] your grace do know how (I) was wont to speak too much, and sorry I am that I am not able to deserve the great goodness and quiet life that you have brought me to, but I trust to be. Humbly beseeching your gracious goodness to take no displeasure that (I) am so bold to presume to write to your grace, but I assure your grace my good mind that I do bear to you do constrain me. And thus our Lord preserve your grace in honour and prosperity.

Your humble assured,

A. Oxford.

LETTER CXXII.

Anne Countess of Oxford to Cardinal Wolsey.

A.D. vers. 1524.

[WOLSEY PAPERS, VOL. VIII. PT. I. NO. 142, STATE PAPER OFFICE. *Holograph.*]

My lord,

In my most hearty wise I thank your grace for the gracious goodness that you have showed to me, as I perceive by my cousin Tilney, for your grace hath minded me as effectually as though I were far better than I am, whereby your grace binds me ever to do as much pleasure to you or any of yours by

[a] The words "of your old" have been crossed out.

your commandment as shall lie in me to do. And whereas your grace mindeth that parson Cleydon and Mr. Hansard your servant should be with my lord—I know not where that two such men should have been found so meet as they are; and look what room your grace thinks them most meetest for, I shall be content therewith. The parson can very good skill of household, and Mr. Hansard to be treasurer of my lord's house and receiver of his lands, if your grace think it so meet. And what wages your grace will assign them to have for their pain, and I shall be content therewith. And whereas your grace did direct your letter to my lord for the auditor's room, my lord was content, at my desire, to respite, and so it was ungiven the same night Mr. Heneage came, and the next day my lord met with the executors; and so by their counsel my lord hath made a grant to Wyseman, as I am informed, contrary to my mind: but I trust Wyseman shall not enjoy it, if I may have any comfort of your grace. For the executors shall not deny afore me, but that I made them privy what labour was made to me by Mr. Heneage for the office, my lord being present; and that my answer was, if so be Mr. Heneage did obtain your grace's letter to my lord, that he should have my good will; and likewise I made Wyseman privy to the same, and my lord was content, Wyseman will not have it without my favour,[a] and he shall not have that.

[a] *Fuere* in MS.

My lord, I assure your grace my lord will do nothing without the counsel of sir John Vere and other that he taketh for his friends, but they give him but slender counsel, for they care little for his coming forward so the inheritance might be saved; for sir John Vere hath spoken largely to my face, as my cousin Tilney can shew your grace.

My lord, I humbly beseech your grace that these men may come shortly, for I trust that they, by your grace's comfort. shall redress much of these matters.

And thus Jesus preserve your grace in long prosperity.

By your humble assured beadwoman,

A. Oxford.

To my Lord Cardinal's grace.

LETTER CXXIII.

Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk to Cardinal Wolsey.

A.D. vers. 1524.

[WOLSEY LETTERS, VOL. VIII. PT. I. NO. 114, STATE PAPER OFFICE. *Original.*]

*** Elizabeth duchess of Norfolk, the writer of the following and several other letters in this collection, was the eldest daughter of Edward duke of Buckingham, a name celebrated in the courtly annals of Henry VIII.

In youth her troth had been plighted to Ralph Neville, fourth earl of Westmoreland, for whom she entertained a strong and

warmly-returned attachment. After a courtship of two years the Christmas of 1511 was fixed upon for their union; but meanwhile lord Thomas Howard, son and heir of Thomas second duke of Norfolk, who had lately become a widower by the decease of his first wife, the lady Anne Plantagenet, daughter of Edward IV., came across this marriage of true love. He must have been smitten with the charms of the lady Elizabeth Stafford during the life of his first wife, for she says expressly that immediately on her death he sent to the duke of Buckingham to make suit for her hand. In the Easter of the year 1512 he paid a visit to the duke; the father, who was seemingly anxious to secure an alliance so honourable to his house without thwarting the affections of his eldest daughter, proposed one of her sisters to the noble suitor, but lord Thomas was not so disposed. He accordingly married the lady Elizabeth, and her disappointed lover, the earl of Westmoreland, comforted himself by a union with her sister Catherine. During the twenty-two years in which she lived with her husband the duchess bore him five children: two who died young,[a] Henry earl of Surrey, Thomas viscount Bindon, and Mary, married to Henry Fitzroy duke of Richmond, natural son of Henry VIII., and often alluded to in her letters as "my daughter of Richmond."

Sir,

In my most humblest wise I recommend me to your good grace. And where it hath pleased your abundant goodness with deserving on my behalf, not only to tender my request and petition for Jaques Darnell, and accomplish the same, but also all my other suits and causes, I neither can nor may in my poor powers give thanks accordingly; but in my hearty good will am and shall be ready to do any thing that shall stand with your pleasure; humbly

[a] One of these children was a daughter, and seems to have lived some years, for in a letter from the duke to lord Monteagle, written when he was earl of Surrey, he speaks of negotiating a marriage for the son of that lord with *one* of his daughters. Wolsey Correspondence, vol. xi. pt. ii. fol. 16, State Paper Office.

beseeching you so to accept me and to continue your special good grace towards me, the trust whereof at this day is to my singular pleasure and comfort. And it may farther please you to shew the same in my lord's return now out of the north parts, which by your gracious assistance and favour I looked for at this side Hallowmas; whereof, as yet, I hear no word. And in remembrance of the same, for lack of other good things worthy to present your grace, I send you a couple of does, which I would might be as acceptable to your good grace as the thing of most dainty in the world, whereof your grace should be well assured, if it lie in me to give; as knoweth Almighty God, who have your grace in his merciful conduct.

At my lord's manor of Hunsdon, the 4th day of November.

Yours to my power,

E. Norfolk.

To my Lord Cardinal's good grace.

LETTER CXXIV.

Margaret Queen of Scotland to the Duke of Norfolk.
A.D. 1524.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. VI. FOL. 377. *Holograph.*]

*** The relative position of Henry VIII. and queen Margaret was at this time very peculiar. Each had an object of their own to gain

which could only be accomplished by playing a deceitful part with the other. The great desire of the English king was to establish English influence in Scotland, and to obtain permission for ambassadors to visit him and settle the terms of a peace. Margaret on the other hand was willing to accede to this, but on condition that Henry should detain her husband, the earl of Angus, in England, since his return was deprecated by her above all things. The diplomatic correspondence on this subject, which is very lengthy, curiously details the manœuvres of each party to circumvent the other.

My lord,

I commend me heartily to you. I am advertised that you have not answered my lord of Arran[a] that my lord of Angus should (not) come in Scotland while I and he be contented therewith; and as I trust you have understanding by my lord of Arran saying to you, and since his departing by his writing, that he cannot be contented that my lord of Angus come in Scotland while I and he be contented, and if other ways be, it will be occasion of evil rule and great break in the country. Doubtlessly the friends and partakers of my lord of Arran will begin with their party the old feud, where it was left; and as to my part, if you suffer him to come in Scotland while I and my lord be both so pleased, it will cause me to *tine* (lose) friends that I now have, and enforce I must seek another way for myself, seeing that the earl of Angus is more set by than I and my partakers.

Wherefore an you will *no nother do* (do no other) I will seek other ways; praying you, my lord, be re-

[a] Then Margaret's prime minister and favourite.

membered that I be excused hereafter, if the good cause that I have begun go aback, and other ways taken than will be pleasure to the king's grace my brother, by the advice of my lord Dacres, as others my unfriends solicit: and to cause the said earl to be sent in Scotland against my will, to break and be impediment to the matter that is begun; and also considering the great displeasure that he hath done to me, as is well known unto Scotland, and doth continue in the same in his good word, by the help of the lord Dacres, which cannot love the king's grace his master, and wills me evil. And if I will seek other ways, I may have helpers that will hold the earl of Angus out of Scotland: and suppose he come in, it will be little to his pleasure. Therefore, my lord, since I hold you one of my friends, I pray you solicit the king's grace my brother to let not the earl of Angus come into Scotland; and howbeit that the lord Dacres inform you that his coming was for the good of the king, my son, and me, it is the contrary: as it will prove indeed. For the lord Dacres doth all things to my displeasure, as now and other times by the writings it appears; and hath now devised certain lords to have the guiding of the king my son, and no word of me, of the which I trust the king's grace my brother will not be content. For an it were at that, it would be soon seen that they should soon turn to another than I have begun, and thinks to keep as long as I am principal with the king my son, and that the king's grace

my brother will shew him kindly to me, as yet his grace hath done, whereof I thank him humbly. And give answer again what I shall trust to, and that you labour not for the promotion of William of Douglas, nor no others in Scotland, but by the special writings and request of the king my son, and me; and God keep you.

Written the 13th day of August.

Yours,

MARGARET R.

LETTER CXXV.

Queen Margaret to the Duke of Norfolk. A.D. 1524.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. VI. FOL. 402. *Holograph.*]

*** One of the most powerful agents in establishing the power of the young king was a guard of two hundred men appointed by the queen and paid from England. Moreover, it placed in Henry's hands a sort of guarantee for the fidelity of his fickle sister, by leaving it at his option to inflict a severe and immediate punishment upon her if she thwarted his wishes, in withdrawing the stipulated payment for these troops. The archbishop of St. Andrew's mentioned in the letter was James Beaton, primate of Scotland, who had ever been a warm adherent of Albany, and who, by the advice of the English council, had been deprived of his office of chancellor and put into confinement.[a] But these wily diplomatists, wishing to obtain an adherent whose character would secure respect, and whose firmness might be more depended upon than

[a] Wolsey to Norfolk, Aug. 9th, 1524. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. II. fol. 18.

that of the ever-changing queen, now manœuvred to get him into England, that they might there win him over to their side.[a]

My lord,

I commend me heartily to you. And wit you that I have spoken with Patrick Sinclair, and he hath shewn me a memorial of your hand writ, without any writing to me, or answer of my writing sent by him to you; whereof, my lord, I have marvel, considering that I desired your counsel how I should rule me on to the time that you got answer from the king's grace my brother. Also I sent the said Patrick to you, my lord, touching the money that the king's grace my brother ordered to the king my son, for two hundred men to be about his person, trusting that he should have speed of the same; which money he hath not gotten. Wherefore I desire, my lord, to know perfectly if this money shall be furnished or not, and thereupon I send this bearer to know your mind what we shall trust to; whereof I pray you, my lord, let me be advertised. I trust the king's grace my brother will not change of his good mind toward the king my son, and me, but to help us to bring our matters to a good end. Suppose it be costly to his grace, it will be steadable hereafter to his grace; and that this said money may be sent with this bearer, to hold the two hundred

[a] Wolsey to Norfolk, Aug. 19th, 1524. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VI. fol. 353. Amongst the Miscellaneous Exchequer documents is a letter from Magnus to St. Andrew's on this subject, with the bishop's reply. *2d series, No.* 2509.

men about the king my son, and these men to be chosen as I think best for the surety of the king my son, and not to be chosen by other men's advices. Wherefore, my lord, I pray you not to take attention to every person that will give you information, but specially to me and them that taketh my part, and that has begun this matter, and hath borne it forth and brought it to so good an end. Wherefore it is to be considered, that I should know more perfectly all matters as they are now than others that maketh you information. And for my part, I go no way but utterly for the weal and surety of the king my son; and others go for favour of friends, and for their own profit, more than for the king my son. And therefore, my lord, since I and my partakers hath taken this great matter in hand, I pray you do our counsel afore any others private persons, in it that pertains to the weal of the king my son; for, an he be not well, our part will be right heavy.

Also, my lord, where that your memorial speaketh that there be lords chosen to do justice, and other lords to remain about the king my son's person; as to lords to sit upon justice, there is a certain lord devised to set and minister justice: but to put a certain of lords to remain about the king my son's person, it is good to be well advised thereupon. For to say that we are assured of any lords in special but my lord of Arran and my lord Maxwell, and their friends, we are not: and therefore they are not to give great trust to, nor to remain about his person,

nor shall not, as far as I may. And therefore methinks that such matters should be referred to me and my partakers.

Also, my lord, touching the bishop of Saint Andrew's, where you say that it were good to let him be one of the ambassadors to come in England, I marvel that you think that; considering that we have put so sharply to him as we have done, and that in time past he was ever in my contrary; and now, an he might be at his liberty, would be far more contrary me, and put the king my son in great aventure. Wherefore, my lord, I pray you consider all thing as it is, and if that we may find the said bishop of Saint Andrew's by any way to be true to us, we had rather have him than any other; but as yet I cannot perceive it. Therefore we must do as we find best for us; trusting that the king's grace my brother will supply us, and not let us want help.

And as to the money that his grace has given to furnish two hundred men, I assure you, my lord, it hath done great good to the king my son, and hath *letted* (hindered) much evil to be done, and it is not as yet a month since it began. Wherefore I trust his grace will not so soon give command in the contrary. And where that the said money is spent before the month, it is to be considered that at that time the expenses would be greater than ne another time, for we had great matters ado; but that may be holden in again, as we think needful.

And thus, my lord, I trust you will send the money with this bearer, and I shall cause it to be well ordered to the weal and surety of the king my son. And God have you in his keeping.

Written this Tuesday at Edinborough.

Yours,

MARGARET R.

My lord,—Touching my lord of Angus, I pray you to keep promise to me, for I trust the king's grace my brother will not fail in it that he hath promised me; but as yet I hear say the earl of Angus is not past hope to the court: whereof I marvel.

LETTER CXXVI.

Queen Margaret to the Duke of Norfolk. A.D. 1524.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. VI. FOL. 404. *Holograph.*]

*** The Scottish correspondence about this period is remarkably full and interesting: scarcely a day elapsed in which letters were not poured forth with equal rapidity and earnestness by the different parties, and queen Margaret's ever busy pen was busier than usual. The despatches of William Hals to the duke of Norfolk, and of Gonzolles, the agent of Albany, to his master, which were probably intercepted in England, contain many curious details, especially as to the private movements of the queen, which would be out of place here. The great point of debate was the return of the earl of Angus. As early as the 31st of August he had advanced to Newcastle-on-Tyne on his way to Scotland, when he was requested not to proceed on account of the queen's vehement opposition; whereupon he immediately returned to the English court, to

renew his solicitations for permission to go.[a] Henry was equally anxious with the earl himself, because he expected to find in him a warm advocate of the English interests; but he feared, and not without cause, that should Angus return before the new order of things was fully established Margaret would undo what she had done, and with the earl of Arran, her principal councillor, throw herself again into the arms of Albany[b] and the French, who spared no pains and promises to allure them.[c] Matters were in this dubious position when queen Margaret wrote the present letter.

My lord,

I commend me heartily to you. Wit you that I have received your writing, with other writings, from the king's grace my brother and my lord cardinal, of which writings I have made answer to every point; and as to any thing that I may do to the pleasure of the king my brother, his grace shall find me of good mind to the same, trusting firmly on his part that he will make us such cause, and not to do the thing that may be our hurt, for that will not be neither honour nor profit to his grace: praying you heartily, my lord, that you will hear at length Carlisle herald, in shewing you such things as I have commanded him. For, since his being here, he understands the manner of all things as they are now. And that you will inform the king's grace my brother of the same, and my lord car-

[a] Lord Dacres to Wolsey, Aug. 31st, 1524. Wolsey Correspondence, vol. iv. art. 18, State Paper Office.

[b] Wolsey to Norfolk, Sept. 15th, 1524. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VI. fol. 345.

[c] Francis I. to James V. and queen Margaret, Sept. 15th, 1524. Ibid. fol. 411.

dinal, and that I may have answer again in all haste; for, while then, I trust the ambassadors will not enter within England, nor nothing be through ended. And so it is in the king's grace my brother's hand to have all matters at his pleasure. I think his grace should not overlook the same for the pleasure of my lord of Angus, for any profit that he will get by the same. And as to my part, an his desires be more regarded than mine, I will not labour no more to the pleasure of the king my brother, but look the best way I may for myself. And, if it be the king's grace's pleasure to send in the earl of Angus, yet he cannot cause me to favour him, nor to let him be in my company. And therefore in so far his grace so doing, doeth greatly to my dishonour and displeasure, which I trust I have not deserved. Therefore I can say no more, but I trust his grace will have consideration on me, his sister, and do it that may be for the weal of the king my son. And in this behalf I desire to be assured of the king's grace what I shall trust to, and not daily to make mention[a] of his coming. Herefore I assure you, my lord, an any other in the world do me that displeasure, they shall want my heart. And as to your part, my lord, I am greatly beholden to you, both of your good mind and deed, which if ever I may *quit* (repay) you shall find the same; praying you, my lord, as my great trust is in you, that you will labour in this matter for me, and to make me sure of that above written.

[a] *Mynttys* in orig.

Also, my lord, touching the conduct that the king's grace my brother hath written for, it shall be gotten incontinent; but I have holden the same bearer while the bishop of Dunkeld came, for to bring answer again from the said bishop of all things at length, (who) will be here incontinent; and I have delivered this bearer, that I may have hasty answer of the said writings from the king's grace. For I assure you, my lord, that my partakers will not suffer the ambassadors to be sped away while that answer come from the king my brother, as my lord of Arran hath written in that behalf to his grace, and in a part to yourself. Wherefore I pray you, my lord, make hasty expedition for the furthering of all matters.

Also, my lord, I have sent you a hawk, the which I trust you shall be right well contented with, and you shall have others within short time. My lord of Arran hath sent another hawk to you with the said bearer: wherefore I pray you take well with him. And God have you in his keeping.

My lord, in my lord cardinal's writings he saith that master Thomas Magnus and the tother gentleman should not enter in Scotland until our ambassadors entered in England; and therefore the said conduct needs not to be hasted, until we send for a conduct to our ambassadors.

Written the 6th day of October.

Yours,

MARGARET R.

To my lord of Norfolk.

LETTER CXXVII.

Queen Margaret to the Duke of Norfolk. A.D. 1524.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 266. *Original.*]

My lord,

I commend me heartily to you, and has understood your writings delivered to me by William Hals, your servant, together with his credence thereby shewn to me in your name, purporting that agreance and amity to be treated betwixt me and my lord of Angus was good and necessary to the weal of the king my son, me, and this his realm; and that the king's grace my brother may not lawfully detain the said earl in England, as is, with others divers persuasions and sharp reports to that effect, to the apparent pleasure of the said earl, in your said writings and credence aforesaid rehearsed.

My lord, as to the weal of the king my son, I am so desirous thereof that if I believed the said agreance was necessary thereto, I would not only (discharging the many divers displeasures done to me by the said earl), accomplish the same, but also therewith—as naturally by tender entire motherly affection I am constrained—would procure and do whatsoever other things to me possibly believed,[a] to the surety and weal of the king my best beloved only son: whose prosperity is, above all other earthly thing, to me most acceptable comfort, consolation,

[a] *Belewit* in orig.

and pleasure; in such manner that, secluding and removing all others my private desires and pleasures, I will thereunto expend myself to the uttermost and extermining of my life, without any dread or fear of the same. But I firmly know that the said desired agreance, colour of amity, and thereby coming of the said earl in this realm, should rather be to the king my son's great apparent damage, making of break and trouble within this his realm, contrary to his erection, reducing of his person from liberty to captivity and thraldom of his mortal enemies, from perfect surety to apparent imminent danger and destruction, and consequently amoving of me, not only from my authority and rule which I now have, but also secluding of me from the keeping, presence, and company of my dearest son's person, and therewith impediment to all other things now well devised and beginning for the weal of both these realms, as I have amply shewn by the last articles sent by me to my lord cardinal. And it is here thought that the king's grace my brother not only may detain lawfully the said earl, but also should by reasonable occasions and causes do the same, considering it is the desire of his dearest nephew, for the weal and surety of his person, corroboration of this his erection and authority, eschewing of many divers apparent inconveniences, and necessary to the combination, unity, and pacifying of these two realms and common weal of the same; which should by all reason be more esteemed than

the particular pleasure of the said earl, or whatsoever other private person. And albeit I may not cause nor persuade the king's grace my brother to do herein otherwise than is his grace's pleasure, my lord, you shall hereafter by experience indeed understand and see, that upon the non-detaining of the said earl shall follow great inconveniences, as I have written in the said articles: and for my part I will in no manner way consent to the said earl's coming, for the causes foresaid. And I must in contrary thereof, to the weal and surety of the king my son and me, purchase such friends as I may get, and do the best I may therein. Thinking that if the king's grace my brother, by private solicitation, esteems more the particular pleasure of the said earl than the surety and weal of his nephew the king my son, me and pacifying of these two realms, we must *on forth* (henceforth) do for our own weal and sureties, and provide for other support and remedy in such behalf as I doubt shall not be to the pleasure of the king's grace. And, my lord, you shall surely believe it is not for no particular displeasure I bear to the said earl that I so expressly write to you, but only to advertise you of the matter as hereafter will ensue and follow, through non-detaining of him. For I know his coming at liberty in this realm shall turn nor redound to no prosperous success nor good *fine* (end), but therewith to the displeasure of the said earl and his. Praying you, my sider this matter, and do your good ace

herein, to the weal and surety of the king my son, me, and common weal of these two realms, so that the particular pleasure of any private person be not impediment nor prejudicial thereto. And if there be any thing you desire in these parts, I shall to your pleasure and desire reasonably fulfil the same, will God; who have you in his blessed keeping.

Subscribed with my hand at Edinburgh, the 18th day of this October.

My lord, I have provided to you two good hawks, which I shall cause to be at you with all goodly diligence.

Yours,

MARGARET R.

To my lord of Norfolk.

LETTER CXXVIII.

Queen Margaret to King Henry VIII. A.D. 1524.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 228. *Holograph.*]

*** A truce having been concluded for three months with England, Henry VIII. sent two ambassadors, Dr. Magnus and Roger Ratcliffe, usher of his privy chamber, over to Scotland, "the one to give good and wholesome advice, in plain and secret manner, to the queen, and the other pleasantly to handle himself to the king."[a] When they arrived they had a long private audience with the queen, and found her "pleasantly disposed," repenting of her rash declaration that if

[a] Wolsey to Norfolk, September 15, 1524. Cotton. MS. Caligula, B. VI. fol. 345.

Angus were admitted no ambassador should be allowed to go to England, and were proceeding amicably in their conference, when "one came suddenly knocking at the chamber-door, saying, he must speak with her grace in all haste, and so he did; and as it appeared by her countenance, and as it was of a truth, the hasty tidings were that the earl of Angus was come into Scotland." By many arguments and persuasions the ambassadors, however, induced the queen to promise to try to bring about an accommodation between Arran and Angus, though she could not herself so far forget her displeasure as to hold any intercourse with him.[a] In this favourable mood they left her, but the following day, when they had another interview, they found the queen entirely changed, "and that in manner she did clearly go from every thing that her grace did agree unto the day and night afore." This change they attribute to the counsel of "one Harry Steward, a young man about her grace, which keepeth, as is said, all her seals, and ordereth all causes, in such a manner as is without any other counsel, either of wisdom, honour, or reputation."[b] This Harry Stewart was afterwards Margaret's third husband, and an incipient and discreditable attachment to him was one of the causes that rendered her so averse to the return of the earl of Angus. It was in this mood that the queen wrote the following letter to her brother.

Dearest brother the king,

In my most humblest wise I can I recommend me to your grace: and please you to wit that I have

[a] Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolsey, Nov. 2, 1524. Cotton. MS. Caligula, B. VI. fol. 341.

[b] Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolsey, Nov. 3, 1524. Wolsey Correspondence, vol. viii. part i. art. 20. Although this letter was sent enclosed in the one of the previous day, yet so completely has the Scottish correspondence of the period been broken up, that it is now separated from it and placed in a totally different receptacle. It is only by collecting and digesting into chronological order the records of the Cottonian collection, the State Paper Office, and the Chapter-house (which last have again been distributed, and are now deposited, some in the Rolls-house and some in the State Paper Office, while some still remain in the Chapter-house), that a full comprehension of the negotiations can be formed.

spoken with your servants, master Magnus and master Radcliff, whom hath shewn me your mind and pleasure at length, and hath delivered me a piece of cloth of gold right rich, whereof humbly I thank your grace; and specially of your remembrance toward me, with the money that your grace causeth to be answered every month for the men that are about the king my son's person: which is right needful, and hath done much good to the king my son, as I have written divers times, and as your servants here may inform your grace, as I trust they do.

Dearest brother, it will please your grace to remember how long I have laboured at your hand for to have good peace and love betwixt these two realms; and now, thanked be God, it is likely to come to a good end. For this realm desireth in special to have assured way of England, as at more length your grace will understand by our ambassadors, whom is the first that ever was by me sent; therefore I trust your grace will shew you the more loving. And because I your sister doth labour in that matter, suppose that any thing that touch me is not well heard with your grace by them that loveth me not, nor credence given to my writing, as well appeareth now by the sending in of the earl of Angus, in contrary my mind and will, and in the contrary of my request and the king my son's; which I think right unkindly, seeing that at my power I did for the pleasure of your grace, as is well

understood with all this realm. And yet, setting apart my request, I think your grace should not have given me occasion to break this realm, nor to put the king my son in danger of his person, as he hath been now lately through the said earl of Angus coming in the manner as he came within the night, as I wit well your grace will be informed of the truth. But to my part I will say no more of that or little other thing where that I get no credence, but them that loveth me not shall be heard before me, and get their desires. Wherefore I will take patience, and do the best I may to keep me from my unfriends; and if I may not keep me here, but that my unfriends shall have help and assistance against me, then I must provide for myself, beseeching your grace to remember that I have not faulted to your grace, but hath followed your mind in all matters as far as I may.

And now this realm may understand that your grace hath sent in the earl of Angus to do me displeasure, and to hold me in trouble daily, where I would not have been troubled; but with the grace of God I shall put it off. Not the less it is right unkindly that your grace (hath) done this to me your sister, and to cause this realm to believe the less favour and kindness in your grace, but you may do to me your sister as it pleaseth you.

Also, dearest brother the king, if it be your grace's mind and pleasure to have good ways betwixt your said realm and this, I beseech your grace

humbly to shew it now into deed, and to make surety of it that your grace will do to the king my son and his realm; or else it will be thought here that I have done this to put off the time, and to cause the king my son to *tine* (lose) his friends and allies, which will be laid to my charge. Therefore, I beseech your grace that I may know your pleasure the soonest that you may *goodly* (conveniently), that thereafter I may order me; and please your grace to give me be advertised: and God preserve you. Written the 7th day of November.

Your humble sister,

MARGARET.

To the right excellent, right high, and mighty prince and our dearest brother, the King of England.

LETTER CXXIX.

Queen Margaret to Cardinal Wolsey. A.D. 1524.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. I. FOL. 254. *Original.*]

*** The *entrée* of the earl of Angus had been followed by much civil discord, and even strife,[a] owing to the utter aversion of the queen and Arran to a reconciliation with him. The queen was in great trouble and perplexity. Her government and that of the earl of Arran had sunk into general contempt.[b] The friends of Angus were numerous and powerful, and she was well aware that he would receive

[a] Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolsey, Nov. 26, 1524. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. I. fol. 121.

[b] George Douglas to Norfolk, Oct. 24, 1524. Ibid. B. III. fol. 76.

aid from England. Under these circumstances she resolved to send the long-delayed ambassadors,[a] who were all men opposed to the Angus faction,[b] and thus to make a last effort to conciliate and obtain aid from her brother, which she solicits in the following letter, seconding her petitions by no obscure intimations of her intention to throw herself completely into the arms of the French party, if even she did not retire to France, in case her application proved unsuccessful.

My lord cardinal,

I commend me heartily to you. And wit you that I have done my diligence to cause our ambassadors to pass in England, which are now to come incontinent, upon such points and directions as are given to them by the king my son, by me, and by the lords of three estates in parliament, as at more length master Magnus (and) master Ratcliff can shew you.

Wherefore now, seeing it is brought to this point, and that I have done my duty in that behalf, I pray you, my lord, in my most hearty manner, to cause our said ambassadors to be well and honourably treated, and that you will get them audience of the king's grace my brother, and that you will help to bring their matters to a good end, so that there may be sure love and amity betwixt these two realms; considering so near as they are of blood, and that I am the labourer betwixt them. To write to you, my lord, the manner at length, I need not, for you will know it by the commission of our am-

[a] Their safe-conduct is dated Nov. 27, 1524. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VII. fol. 50.

[b] Angus to Henry VIII. Nov. 28, 1524. Ibid. B. I. fol. 96.

bassadors, and as I have written in articles to the king's grace my brother at length.

My lord, I pray you heartily to put to your hand in these matters, in such a sort that the king my brother and I may have honour and profit, and pleasure to the king my son; for now is the time. And remember what pain and labour I have had, with displeasure, in labouring these matters; not the less I think my pain well *wared* (spent), so that I may bring these matters to good end. Praying you heartily, my lord, to remember how it will be pleasing to God to have good peace and concord, and the great honour that will redound to the king's grace my brother, seeing that the king's grace my son is young. Also, my lord, I assure (you), that the king my son and this realm will be right glad to have good peace betwixt your realm and this, and will be contented to leave other realms, so that the king my brother will be contented of such points as is contained in my articles; which purpose the lords are firmly at; and all so far as I may labour and solicit, there shall be no fault in me.

My lord, I pray you remember how at what nearness of blood these two kings are, and so that you may advise a sure way (to) be among them, it will be surer than any other realms; which were greatest pleasure and comfort to me that might be, to have the king's grace my brother and the king my son at one way.

Also, my lord, you shall understand that this

realm is in trouble at this time, where it would not have been, as I did advertise the king's grace my brother, and you, my lord, divers times by my writing: nevertheless it has not been regarded; which I think unkindly, seeing the good cause I make, and has made, to the king's grace my brother, as is well known in this realm; wherethrough I am holden suspected with the lords of this realm in one part. And if you remember, my lord, I did all that I have done with the advice and counsel of the king's grace my brother and yours, and aye, as the great matters occurred, I advertised his grace and you; not doing nothing but with your advice, as I have your writings to shew. Wherefore, seeing this, there is many that marvels that his grace quits me in this sort, to send in the earl of Angus contrary the king my son's request and mine, wherethrough now the realm is broken, as I advertised it would be oft before: suppose I got no credence, thinking it has been but for my will, and not for the weal of the king my son and his realm. Wherefore I see well, the trust is little that I get with the king's grace my brother and his council, and not in my default. But methinks, for no evil to me, the king my son and his realm should be troubled, he making no evil cause.

But since it is thus I will take patience of his grace, but I must do the best I may to keep me from my unfriends; and if I may not keep me here, but that they will get assistance contrary me, I must

on force make of my foes friends, for I love my life all so well as any others do theirs. And then his grace will understand what part I have kept to his grace, and I will be the more excused of all this realm to do for myself, seeing where I might have been in honour and ease, and the king my son and his realm in peace and concord, where now it is the contrary, and done by his grace, that should (have) been my defender. Therefore, my lord, I pray you consider how I am done to, and how that daily the earl of Angus sets for me to take me from my son the king: wherefore I marvel what pleasure it may be to the king's grace my brother to hold me daily in trouble. And in your hands, God willing, I shall never come with my will, not an I should leave this realm. For, when any other princes understands how I am done to, they will have pity of me. I can say no more; but now I have done the best I can to have good and loving ways betwixt these two realms, and thereupon has sent the ambassadors. And now it is in the king's grace my brother's hands and yours to do as you please, trusting that his grace and you will do for the king my son and his realm; and that you will, my lord, do so much for me to send me the king's pleasure in every behalf, the soonest you may, and as my great trust is in you.

Written the 28th day of November.

Yours,

MARGARET R.

To my Lord Cardinal.

LETTER CXXX.

Queen Margaret to the Scottish Lords. A.D. 1525.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. III. FOL. 104.]

*** The factions which rent the peace of Scotland continued, and increased in animosity. To give any thing like a minute detail of the proceedings that led to the circumstances under which the present letter was penned would be to insert an elaborate history of Scotland for that period. Suffice it to say, that so vehement was the discontent excited by Margaret's proceedings, especially her mode of treating the young king, whom the opposite party affirmed she shut up in unwholesome air, and in fact kept him almost a prisoner,[a] that the strife reached even the capital. The party of Angus occupied Edinburgh; the queen was with the young king in the castle, the guns of which she threatened to fire upon the town.[b] The opposing party in return besieged her in her stronghold; and as she was ill stored with provisions, and not prepared for a defence, she was compelled to come to terms. The offers made to her by the lords are in substance contained in this letter, which is her reply.[c] The headstrong queen, having rejected all the humble supplications of Angus for favour, having previously returned his letters unopened,[d] was now obliged to consent to a concord with him when he had just besieged her in her own palace.

My lord of Saint Andrew's, Aberdeen, earl of Argyle, with the rest of the lords there with you,

Know you I have written to you when you were in Dalkeith in this wise, that is to say, if that you, my lords above written, would that I agree with my

[a] Declaration of the Scottish lords, Jan. 5, 1525. Cotton. MS. Cal. B. VI. fol. 394.

[b] Lesley, de rebus Scoticis, p. 415.

[c] They are given at full in Cotton. MS. Calig. B. III. fol. 102.

[d] See Angus' letter to Margaret, Nov. 1, 1524. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VI. fol. 371; to Wolsey, Nov. 28, ibid. B. I. fol. 94; to Henry VIII., Jan. 8, 1825, ibid. fol. 91.

lord of Angus, I desire that I should not be hurt in the authority that was given me by you, and (the) three estates, with the keeping of the king my son's person, which as yet I desire of you, my lords: all you, my lords, making me in surety of this, shall use your counsel as followeth.

First, I desire that I may have the keeping of the king my son's person, and I am content that there be noblemen about his grace's person as the lords thinketh best, so it be done with mine advice and counsel, because I am his dearest mother, and would his person most good of earthly thing.

Secondly, as touching the benefices, I desire that I be principal in the disposition of the same, with the advice of the lords that are most noble, chosen or to be chosen, concerning high benefices, as bishopricks and abbacies, and all dignities above a thousand pounds by year; and that all other benefices be at my disposition, without any restriction.

Thirdly, touching wards, marriages, and reliefs, with other the king's casualties, to be disposed by me principally, with the advice of the lords chosen, and to be chosen in parliament, to the king's utility and profit.

Fourthly, touching all great matters between realm and realm for treating of peace and disposition of great officers, as chancellor, treasurer, comptroller, with all other officers to be put about the king my son's person, that I be principal with the counsel of the lords. These things above written being assured

by the act of parliament to be made now instantly; I being assured by a pledge competent, with all their writing, that the said pledge shall bide with me unto the same be fulfilled in every point, I shall be content to take my said lord of Angus in the king my son's favour and mine, and to intreat him as I ought to do to mine honour and his; he doing for his part as I shall desire of him, which shall be nothing but reason; and that I may live in good rest and peace to mine honour, seeing that I am content to do my lord of Angus honour and favour. And, farther, give credence to doctor Magnus and the bearer, with answer in writing.

Headed, "Copy of the Queen of Scott's etter, written with her own hand, sent to the ords."

LETTER CXXXI.

Queen Margaret to Henry VIII. A.D. 1525.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. VII. FOL. 65.]

*** The flames of discord between queen Margaret and her husband had burnt too long and too fiercely to be suddenly extinguished by the hollow pacification into which they had lately entered. Margaret, yielding to a blind passion for her youthful lover Henry Stewart, was actively suing for a divorce. On the 29th of March, Angus wrote to Wolsey,[a] thanking him for the trouble the king had taken in writing letters, sharply worded, to the queen, "believing, after sight thereof, she shall stand better minded to me nor she did;" but regretting that his pains had been entirely ineffectual.

[a] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VI. fol. 431.

Henry's exhortations to Angus to desist, for a short time at least, from intermeddling with the queen's lands till he had tried to make an amicable arrangement with her,[a] seem to have been equally fruitless; for the husband's authority, which he chose to exert over her revenues, whilst he possessed no such place in her house or affections, was extremely galling to the queen. At the same time she put on the semblance of external courtesy, and even promised to restore him to favour,[b] to induce him to consent to the divorce.[c] "The queen's grace," said Magnus, in a letter to Wolsey,[d] "entertaineth the earl of Angus with good countenance and familiar communication, but continually her grace procureth the said earl, by all the ways and means she can, to a divorce, and at all times consisteth upon the same opinion, requiring the said earl, as well by messengers as by herself at their meeting, neither to make the king's highness privy thereunto, your said grace, nor me. This knowledge I have by the said earl of Angus. I am right sorry to write or mention any thing against the queen's grace here; but of truth I have not found the queen's said grace favourable and lovingly disposed, and inclined neither to the realm of England, to the king's highness, nor to us his servants, unless it were when her grace required, or was in trust to have money."

Dearest brother the king,

In my most humble wise I recommend me to your grace. Please you to wit I received, by the hands of master Magnus your servant, one writing dated the 23d day of March, which writing is right sour and sharp, considering that I have not deserved the same, but at my utter power did in all thing that I might to your grace; the which I beseech your grace humbly to call to your remem-

[a] Angus to Wolsey, March 8, 1525. Cotton. MS. Calig. B. I. fol. 98.

[b] Magnus to Wolsey. Ibid. B. II. fol. 59, Feb. 22, 1525.

[c] The same to the same, April 19, 1525. Ibid. B. VII. fol. 61.

[d] Cotton MS. Calig. B. II. fol. 55, date March 9, 1525.

brance, and not to give credence to other persons that loves me not, nor yet the weal of the king my son.

And, also, I beseech your grace to consider I took a great matter on hand at your desire and commandment, with diligent labours, that I make continual at your grace's desire and pleasure; and utterly other[a] friends will I regard little to their pleasure and favour. Notwithstanding your grace's sharp writing now last sent, I shall keep a good part to your grace, beseeching your grace to take my good mind and deed as it is, and to remember what trouble I have had and has for your sake; and how the duke of Albany, at his first coming, put me from my two sons, and then I was fain to leave this realm: secondly, he put me from my son, after I was made, by the advice of him and in parliament, to remain with his person, and thought to have put me forth of Scotland, and always for your grace's sake. And then the duke had great suspicion that I favoured your ways and pleasure; and now, when I have made the duke plainly to understand that I do your pleasure in contrary him all utterly, wherethrough I know (I) have lost him, yet your grace will not have consideration thereof, but takes more *tent* (heed) to missive bills than to me your sister: which I think right heavy, I doing so great an act in contrary the said duke as I did now, which all Scotland durst not do, nor have taken it upon hand

[a] *Atour* in MS.

the which was both right great travail and cost to me.

This being well considered, methinks it is to be remembered, and sufficiently acquitted by good part and assistance to me. For in the first, by my most diligent labour, having remembrance of your grace and it that might be pleasing to you, I giving the aventure to open such a weighty matter and ....,[a] which matter, an it had been refused and advertised to the governor, it would have been made relevant to have destroyed me, as would have been surely followed.

Secondly, I caused the king my son to claim his own authority personally at his lords, and barons, and three estates, all being assembled together in his presence; the which being at that point they durst not deny, but wholly consent to the same. Also, I desired to have the office of royal majesty to be assigned to me while the king my son's lawful age, to the effect that this realm should not be desolate of an immediate person to be their head, together with the keeping of the king my son's person. And to this effect, and by these reasons, the governor was not necessary to be in this realm. And, also, I caused a lawful parliament to be proclaimed, and at the said parliament caused the governor to be discharged of his office for the king my son's lifetime.

[a] Blank in MS., probably because the copyist from whose transcript this letter is printed was unable to make out the word in the original "evil hand" of queen Margaret.

And all this being solicited by me, and no other, for the pleasure of your grace, trusting thereby to have won your grace's special love and favours; which, as methinks now, is the contrary.

And, also, an it please your grace, your servant master Magnus can show your grace how the French king's ambassador that came last was *retreated* (made to retreat). And this I beseech your grace to remember upon me as this requires; and if your grace will not be good and kind prince and brother to me, as I think I have deserved, then I beseech your grace not to do me evil, nor to cause my lord of Angus to trouble me in my living nor my person, both for your grace's honour and because I am the king's mother and your sister. And your grace not being in my contrary, I trust surely there dare no baron in this realm do me any utter displeasure, for dread of it that may follow hereafter at the king my son's hand. And it is not unknown that I have the earl of Angus under summons by the pope's executorials, and the plea depending, and so by that reason he may not intermeddle with me by the law; and by right and reason I trust there be no nobleman of this realm will do me openly displeasure, so long as the king my son lives. Beseeching also your grace that you will stand a kind brother to me, and at my utter power I shall deserve it, and do that I can to your pleasure, not sparing for nobody's displeasure; so that your grace will consider it, and not to reward me with unkindness and displeasure for my good mind and deed, and them that loves me

not to be heard before me, as I perceive your grace does by your last writing sent to me; which report, as I answer to God, is right untrue, as shall prove into deed. Beseeching your grace to let me be advertised of your pleasure in haste, and God preserve your grace.

Endorsed by Magnus, "Copy of the Queen of Scott's letter addressed to the king's highness, dated a good time past."

LETTER CXXXII.

Queen Margaret to Dr. Magnus. A.D. 1525.

[COTTON. MS. CALIGULA, B. VII. FOL. 107. *Original.*]

Right trusty and well-beloved friend,

We commend us to you in our hearty manner. We have received your writing dated at Berwick the eighteenth day of November, mentioning in the first the commendations from our good nephew the duke of Richmond and Somerset,[a] whereof we in our most tender manner thanks our said cousin. We desire you affectionately to have us recommended unto him as we that shall entertain our dutiful kindness, as natural affection, aright towards him, as we that is right glad of his good prosperity, praying God the same continue.

Secondly, where your writing reports that, by commandment of the king's highness our dearest

[a] Henry Fitzroy, natural son of Henry VIII.

brother, you remained with our cousin of Richmond since your departing last of this realm. And at this convention last affixed at Berwick you were authorised to make, commune, and conclude in all such things as should tend for the firm entertaining of assured good love and amity, as nature requireth, with continual peace to be had betwixt them, their realms, and subjects, most valuable for the same; to which there can no prince be better inclined than is our dearest brother, for the tender zeal and hearty affection he bears unto the king our dearest son,—we believe none of your estate more convenient to commune in such affairs. And now is the most special time that the king our brother's good mind may be made *patent* (open) to our dearest son, as after the good *addresment* (adjustment) of that your borderers and your commissioners concludes. In fortifications of the which we pray you most affectionately, and the rather for our comfort and consolation, and for the perseverance of love and amity betwixt both the realms.

Thirdly, concerning our knowledge of the letters sent by our dearest brother to the king our dearest son, we *study* (marvel) greatly thereof. In them appears small affections for our sake. It is not little strange to the king our dearest son and his council that our dearest brother the king had, and presently has, so great regard of my lord Angus' prosperity, when we, that is his natural sister, sustained great dolour and great wrongs, as well bodily as in our lands and goods, his grace having

no good eyes thereto; howbeit reason required more consideration in that behalf. Where your said writing contained our procuration in favour of the earl of Angus, we marvel greatly thereof, considering, since his offences made to us, he nought applied him to make us good case to continue good princess to him, which had been his high honour and special duty; having remembrance of the great honour we did unto him, the which for your understanding is after specified.

In the first, we, for the tender love (and) welfare of him and his house, moved of good mind, *humaned* us (were so humane as) to solemnise matrimony with him; trusting that he of his nobility should not have forgot that we for him was exiled from the government of this realm, the most part of our goods perforce withholden, our houses and possessions always restrained from our use, and we desolate of remedy; we nought regarding these inconveniences, but always giving our most special attendance to procure and labour the said earl's weal and surety, first in this realm and thenafter in that our dearest brother's realm of England. Thereafter, when it pleased the king's highness to send cause convoy us in right honourable manner, to our said dearest brother's great expences, again into this realm, within short space thenafter the said earl behaved him right uncourteously unto us, and also suffered his friends in like manner, and continually, since the said time he and they has done persevere to our displeasure: and in special these three years

bypast, not having no consideration of our person, honour, nor weal, but always putting all in jeopardy, which was over piteous, and great marvel to report; and, after, would not suffer our own daughter to remain with us for our comfort, who would not have been diseased she being with us.

My good and right trusty friend, master Magnus, we doubt not but your reason will make you advise sadly hereupon, which aforesaid is of debt (and) asks no favours nor good mind; yet not the less we, moved of piety, and having considerations of the time present, not only for the weal of the earl of Angus, but first for the merit of God, and to make openly known that we bear no rancour to the said earl, we have always, to this hour, absented our evil report of him or his friends in secret and plain audience, as God knows. And in like manner we have superseded executorials and sharp process which we have on him, to be produced both in spiritual and temporal law. As we have not procured nor pursued none of his heritage, goods, nor no manner appurtenances[a] that pertained to him or his friends. And for us, we will omit all ire towards the said earl and his friends, and in so far as we may, not displeasing our dearest son and keepin our due part to this realm, we shall will no hurt t the said earl nor his friends, praying God to se them grace to make the king our dearest son be satisfied of them, that they may recover his fav

[a] *Prehences* in the original.

and live under him as his subjects, and as their *foreelders* (forefathers) has done in time past.

Item, we have written divers times to the king's highness our dearest brother, and has received no manner response thereof; which letters we believe was for the entertaining of tender love betwixt our dearest son and him, both their realms, and other good affairs to have followed; the which, for less expedition of response, is now set apart, and our labour ceased. And if we had the king's grace our dearest brother accepting and authorising our good mind, we would have been very glad to have disposed us as we have oft before in times bypast, to have procured it that might have been to his pleasure, honour, and weal of his realm.

We thank you heartily of your remembrance at this time; you shall find us do for you if you charge us in any thing we may tending to your weal, praying God have you in his keeping.

At Edinburgh, this 25th day of November.

Your friend,

MARGARET R.

To our right trusty and well-beloved Master Magnus, dean of East Riding, &c.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON
GEORGE BARCLAY, CASTLE STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE.

0 421 ST2 57 6213